1512

HISTORY OF ROME.

VOL. II.

Printed by S. Hamilton, Weybridge, Surrey.

THE

HISTORY OF ROME,

FROM THE

FOUNDATION

OF

THE CITY OF ROME,

TO THE

DESTRUCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

BY

OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M. B.

TWELFTH EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL.

345

1512

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; G. WILKIE; SCATCHERD AND LETTERMAN; T. EGERTON; J. NUNN; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN; CADELL AND DAVIES; LAW AND WHITTAKER; J. RICHARDSON; J. M. RICHARDSON; J. MAWMAN; E. WILLIAMS; LACKINGTON AND CO.; J. BLACK AND SON; GALE AND FENNER; J. BOOKER; BALDWIN, CRADOCK, AND JOY; WALKER AND EDWARDS; RODWELL AND MARTIN; AND B. REYNOLDS.

1817.

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THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

EMPIRE OF ROME.

CHAPTER I.

Julius Cæsar, First Emperor.

CÆSAR has been much celebrated for his fortune, and yet his abilities seem equal to his highest success. He possessed many shining qualities, without the intermixture of any defect but that of ambition. His talents were such as would have rendered him victorious at the head of any army he commanded, and he would have governed in any republic that had given him birth. Having now gained a most complete victory, his success only seemed to increase his activity, and inspire him with fresh resolution to face new dangers. He resolved, therefore, to pursue his last advantage, and fol- U. C. 706.

low Pompey to whatever country he should retire; convinced that during his life he might gain new triumphs, but could never enjoy security. Hearing, therefore, of his being at Amphipolis, he sent off his troops before him, and then embarked on board a little frigate in order to cross the Hellespont; but, in the middle of the strait, he fell in with one of Pompey's commanders, at the head of ten ships of war. Cæsar, no way terrified at the superiority of his force, bore up to him, and commanded him to submit. The other instantly obeyed, awed by the terror of Cæsar's name, and surrendered himself and his fleet at discretion.

From thence he continued his voyage to Ephesus, and then to Rhodes; and, being informed that Pompey had been there before him, he made no doubt but that he was fled to Egypt; wherefore, losing no time, he set sail for that kingdom, and arrived at Alexandria with about four thousand men, a very inconsiderable force to keep such a powerful kingdom under subjection. But he was now grown so secure in his good fortune, that he expected to find obedience wherever he found men. Upon his landing, the first accounts he received were of Pompey's miserable end; and soon after one of the murderers came with his head and ring, as a most grateful present to the conqueror. But Cæsar had too much humanity to be pleased with such a horrid spectacle: he turned away from it with disgust; and, after a short pause, gave vent to his pity in

a flood of tears. He shortly after ordered a magnificent tomb to be built to his memory, on the spot where he was murdered; and a temple near the place to Nemesis, who was the goddess that punished those that were cruel to men in adversity.

It should seem that the Egyptians by this time had some hopes of breaking off all alliance with the Romans, which they considered, as in fact it was, but a specious subjection. They first began to take offence at Cæsar's carrying the ensigns of Roman power before him as he entered the city. Photinus, the eunuch, also treated him with great disrespect, and even attempted his life. Cæsar, however, who knew how to dissemble, concealed his resentment till he had a force sufficient to punish his treachery; and sending privately for the legions which had been formerly enrolled for Pompey's service, as being the nearest to Egypt, he, in the mean time, pretended to repose an entire confidence in the king's minister, making great entertainments, and assisting at the conferences of the philosophers, who were in great numbers at Alexandria. However, he soon changed his manner when he found himself in no danger from the minister's attempts, and declared, that, as being Roman consul, it was his duty to settle the succession of the Egyptian crown.

There were at that time two pretenders to the crown of Egypt; Ptolemy, the acknowledged king; and the celebrated Cleopatra, his sister;

to whom, by the custom of the country, he also was married; and who, by his father's will, shared jointly in the succession. However, not being contented with a bare participation of power, Cleopatra aimed at governing alone; but being opposed in her views by the Roman senate, who confirmed her brother's title to the crown, she was banished into Syria with Arsinoe her younger sister. Cæsar gave her new hopes of aspiring to the kingdom, and sent to both her and her brother to plead their cause before him. Photinus, the young king's guardian, who had long borne the most inveterate hatred as well to Cæsar as to Cleopatra, disdained accepting this proposal, and backed his refusal by sending an army of twenty thousand men to besiege him in Alexandria. Cæsar bravely repulsed the enemy for some time; but finding the city of too great extent to be defended by so small an army as he then commanded, he retired to the palace, which commanded the harbour, where he purposed to make his stand. Achillas, who commanded the Egyptians, attacked him there with great vigour, and still aimed at making himself master of the fleet that lay before the palace. Cæsar, however, too well knew the importance of those ships in the hands of an enemy; and therefore burnt them all, in spite of every effort to prevent him. He next possessed himself of the isle of Pharos, which was the key to the Alexandrian port; by which he was enabled to receive the supplies sent him from all sides; and, in this situation, he

determined to withstand the united force of all the Egyptians.

In the mean time, Cleopatra, having heard of the present turn in her favour, resolved to depend rather on Cæsar's favour for gaining the government, than her own forces. She had, in fact, assembled an army in Syria to support her claims; but now judged it the wisest way to rely entirely on the decision of her self-elected judge. But no arts, as she justly conceived, were so likely to influence Cæsar as the charms of her person, which, though not faultless, were yet extremely seducing. She was now in the bloom of youth, and every feature borrowed grace from the lively turn of her temper. To the most enchanting address she joined the most harmonious voice, which the historians of her time compare to the best tuned instrument. With all these accomplishments she possessed a great share of the learning of the times, and could give audience to the ambassadors of seven different nations without an interpreter. The difficulty was how to get at Cæsar, as her enemies were in possession of all the avenues that led to the palace. For this purpose she went on board a small vessel, and, in the evening, landed near the palace, where, being wrapped up in a coverlet, she was carried by one Apollodorus into the very chamber of Cæsar. Her address, at first, pleased him; her wit and understanding still fanned the flame; but her caresses, which were

carried beyond the bounds of innocence, entirely brought him over to second her claims.

While Cleopatra was thus employed in forwarding her own views, her sister Arsinoe was also strenuously engaged in the camp, in pursuing a separate interest. She had found means, by the assistance of one Ganymede, her confidant, to make a large division in the Egyptian army in her favour; and soon after, by one of those sudden revolutions which are common in barbarian camps to this day, she caused Achillas to be murdered, and Ganymede to take the command in his stead, and to carry on the siege with greater vigour than before. Ganymede's principal effort was by letting in the sea upon those canals which supplied the palace with fresh water; but this inconvenience Cæsar remedied by digging a great number of wells. His next endeavour was, to prevent the junction of Cæsar's twenty-fourth legion, which he twice attempted in vain. He soon after made himself master of a bridge which joined the isle of Pharos to the continent, from which post Cæsar was resolved to dislodge him. In the heat of the action, some mariners, partly through curiosity and partly ambition, came and joined the combatants; but, being seized with a panic, instantly fled, and spread a general terror through the army. All Cæsar's endeavours to rally his forces were in vain; the confusion was past remedy, and numbers were drowned or put to the sword in at-

tempting to escape. Now, therefore, seeing the irremediable disorder of his troops, he retired to a ship, in order to get to the palace that was just opposite; however, he was no sooner on board, than great crowds entered at the same time with him; upon which, apprehensive of the ship's sinking, he jumped into the sea, and swam two hundred paces to the fleet that lay before the palace, all the time holding his own Commentaries in his left hand above water, and his coat of mail in his teeth.

The Alexandrians, finding their efforts to take the palace ineffectual, endeavoured, at least, to get their king out of Cæsar's power, as he had seized upon his person in the beginning of their disputes. For this purpose they made use of their customary arts of dissimulation, professing the utmost desire of peace, and only wanting the presence of their lawful prince to give a sanction to the treaty. Cæsar, who was sensible of their perfidy, nevertheless concealed his suspicions, and gave them their king, as he was under no apprehensions from the abilities of a boy. Ptolemy, however, the instant he was set at liberty, instead of promoting peace, made every effort to give vigour to his hostilities.

In this manner Cæsar was hemmed in for some time by this artful and insidious enemy, with all manner of difficulties against him; but he was at last relieved from this mortifying situation by Mithridates Pergamenus, one of his

most faithful partizans, who came with an army to his assistance. This general, collecting a numerous army in Syria, marched into Egypt, took the city of Pelusium, repulsed the Egyptian army with loss, and at last, joining with Cæsar, attacked their camp with a great slaughter of the Egyptians: Ptolemy himself, attempting to escape on board a vessel that was sailing down the river, was drowned by the ship's sinking, and Cæsar thus became master of all Egypt without any farther opposition. He therefore appointed Cleopatra, with her younger brother, who was then but an infant, as joint governors, according to the intent of their father's will, and drove out Arsinoe with Ganymede into banishment.

Having thus given away kingdoms, he now, for a while, seemed to relax from the usual activity of his conduct, captivated with the charms of Cleopatra. Instead of quitting Egypt to go and quell the remains of Pompey's party, he abandoned himself to his pleasures, passing whole nights in feasts, and all the excesses of high-wrought luxury, with the young queen. He even resolved to attend her up the Nile into Æthiopia; but the brave veterans, who had long followed his fortune, boldly reprehended his conduct, and refused to be partners in so infamous an expedition. Thus, at length, roused from his lethargy, he resolved to prefer the call of ambition to that of love; and to leave Cleopatra, by whom he had a son, who was afterwards named

Cæsario, in order to oppose Pharnaces, the king of Bosphorus, who had now made some inroads upon the dominions of Rome.

This prince, who was the son of the great Mithridates, being ambitious of recovering his father's dominions, seized upon Armenia and Colchis, and overcame Domitius, who had been sent against him. Upon Cæsar's march to oppose him, Pharnaces, who was as much terrified at the name of the general as at the strength of his army, laboured, by all the arts of negotiation, to avert the impending danger. Cæsar, exasperated at his crimes and his ingratitude, at first dissembled with the ambassadors, and using all expedition, fell upon the enemy unexpectedly, and in a few hours obtained a speedy and complete victory. Pharnaces, attempting to take refuge in his capital, was slain by one of his own commanders—a just punishment for his former parricide. This victory was gained with so much ease, that Cæsar could not avoid observing, that Pompey was very happy in gaining so much glory against this enemy at so easy a rate. In writing to a friend at Rome, he expressed the rapidity of his victory in three words, *veni, vidi, vici:* a man so accustomed to conquest, thought a slight battle scarce worth a longer letter.

Cæsar having settled affairs in this part of the empire, as well as time would permit; having bestowed the government of Armenia upon Ariobarzanes, that of Judea upon Hyrcanus and Antipater, and that of Bosphorus upon Mithri-

dates, embarked for Italy, where he arrived sooner than his enemies could expect, but not before his affairs there absolutely required his presence. He had been, during his absence, created consul for five years, dictator for one year, and tribune of the people for life. But Antony, who in the mean time governed in Rome for him, had filled the city with riot and debauchery, and many commotions ensued, which nothing but the arrival of Cæsar so opportunely could appease. However, by his moderation and humanity, he soon restored tranquillity to the city, scarce making any distinction between those of his own and the opposite party. Thus having by gentle means restored his authority at home, he prepared to march into Africa, where Pompey's party had found time to rally under Scipio and Cato, assisted by Juba, king of Mauritania. But the vigour of his proceedings had like to have been retarded by a mutiny in his own army. Those veteran legions who had hitherto conquered all that came before them, began to murmur for not having received the rewards which they had expected for their past services, and now insisted upon their discharge. The sedition first broke out in the tenth legion, which till then had signalized themselves for their valour and attachment to their general. Cæsar at first strove to appease them by promises of future rewards; but these, instead of appeasing the sedition, only served to increase it. The whole army marched forward from Campania towards Rome, pillaging and

plundering all the way. Cæsar immediately caused the gates of the city to be shut, and ordered such troops as were in readiness to defend the walls: he then boldly went out alone to meet the mutineers, notwithstanding the representations of his friends, who were concerned for his safety. Upon coming into the Campus Martius, where the most tumultuous were assembled, he boldly mounted his tribunal; and, with a stern air, demanded of the soldiers what they wanted, or who had conducted them there? A conduct so resolute seemed to disconcert the whole band: they began by complaining, that, being worn out with fatigue, and exhausted by their numberless wounds, they were in hopes to obtain a discharge. "Then take your discharge," cried Cæsar, "and "when I shall have gained new conquests with "other troops, I promise that you shall be par-"takers in the spoil." So much generosity quite confounded the seditious, who were agitated between the contending passions of gratitude and jealousy; they were grateful for his intended bounty, and jealous lest any other army should share the honours of completing the conquest of the world. They unanimously entreated his pardon, and even offered to be decimated to obtain it. Cæsar for a while seemed to continue inflexible, and at last granted as a favour what it was his interest earnestly to desire; but the tenth legion continued ever after under his severe displeasure.

Cæsar, according to his usual diligence, landed with a small party in Africa, to face Scipio, while the rest of his army followed soon after. After many movements, and several skirmishes between both armies, which only served to destroy mankind without determining the cause of quarrel, he resolved at last to come to a decisive battle. For this purpose he invested the city of Tapsus, supposing that Scipio would attempt its relief, which turned out according to his expectations. Scipio, joining with the young king of Mauritania, advanced his army, and encamping near Cæsar, they soon came to a general battle. Cæsar's success was as usual; the enemy received a complete and final overthrow with little or no loss on his side. Juba and Petreius his general killed each other in despair; Scipio, attempting to escape by sea into Spain, fell in among the enemy and was slain: so that, of all the generals of that undone party, Cato was now the only one that remained.

This extraordinary man, whom no prosperity could elate nor no misfortunes depress, having retired into Africa after the battle of Pharsalia, had led the wretched remains of that defeat through burning deserts and tracts infested with serpents of various malignity, and was now in the city of Utica, which he had been left to defend. Still, however, in love with even the show of Roman government, he had formed the principal citizens into a senate, and conceived a

resolution of holding out the town. He accordingly assembled his senators upon this occasion, and demanded their advice upon what measures were best to be taken, and whether they should defend this last city that owned the cause of freedom. "If," said he, "you are willing to submit "to Cæsar, I must acquiesce; but if you are "willing to hazard the dangers of defending the "last remains of liberty, let me be your guide "and companion in so great an enterprise. "Rome has often recovered from greater cala- "mities than these; and there are many motives "to encourage our attempt. Spain has declared "in our cause, and Rome itself bears the yoke "with indignation. With respect to the ha- "zards we must encounter, why should they "terrify us? Observe our enemy: he braves "every danger, and encounters every fatigue to "undo mankind and make his country wretched; "and shall we scruple to suffer a short interval "of pain in a cause so glorious?" This speech had at first a surprising effect; but the enthusiasm for liberty soon subsiding, he was resolved no longer to force men to be free who seemed naturally prone to slavery. He now, therefore, desired some of his friends to save themselves by sea, and bade others to rely upon Cæsar's clemency; observing, that, as to himself, he was at last victorious. After this, supping cheerfully among his friends, he retired to his apartment, where he behaved with unusual tenderness to his son and to all his friends. When he

came into his bed-chamber, he laid himself down, and took up Plato's dialogue on the immortality of the soul; and, having read for some time, happening to cast his eyes to the head of his bed, he was much surprised not to find his sword there, which had been taken away by his son's order while they were at supper. Upon this, calling one of his domestics to know what was become of his sword, and receiving no answer, he resumed his studies; but some time after called for his sword again. When he had done reading, and perceiving nobody obeyed him in bringing his sword, he called all his domestics one after the other, and with a peremptory air demanded his sword once more. His son came in soon after, and with tears besought him in the most humble manner to change his resolution; but receiving a stern reprimand, he desisted from his persuasions. His sword being at length brought him, he seemed satisfied, and cried out, "Now again I am master of myself." He then took up the book again, which he read twice over, and fell into a sound sleep. Upon awaking, he called to one of his freedmen to know if his friends were embarked, or if any thing yet remained that could be done to serve them. The freedman assuring him that all was quiet, he was then ordered again to leave the room: and Cato was no sooner alone than he stabbed himself with his sword through the breast, but not with that force he intended, for the wound not dispatching him, he fell upon his bed, and at the same time

overturned a table on which he had been drawing some geometrical figures. At the noise he made in his fall, his servants gave a shriek, and his son and friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels pushed out through the wound. The physician who attended his family, perceiving that his intestines were yet untouched, was for replacing them; but when Cato had recovered his senses, and understood their intention to preserve his life, he pushed the physician from him, and with a fierce resolution tore out his bowels, and expired.

In this manner Cato died, who was one of the most faultless characters we find in the Roman history. He was severe, but not cruel; he was ready to pardon much greater faults in others than he could forgive in himself. His haughtiness and austerity seemed rather the effect of principle than natural constitution; for no man was more humane to his dependents, or better loved by those about him. The constancy of his opposition to Cæsar proceeded from a thorough conviction of the injustice of his aims: and the last act of his life was but conformable to the tenets of his sect; as the Stoics maintained, that life was a gift which all men might return to the donor when the present was no longer pleasing.

Cæsar, upon hearing of Cato's end, could not help observing, that as Cato had envied him the glory of saving his life, so he had reason to envy

him the glory of so bravely dying. Upon his death, the war in Africa being completed, Cæsar returned in triumph to Rome; and, as if he had abridged all his former triumphs only to increase the splendour of this, the citizens were astonished at the magnificence of the procession, and the number of the countries he had subdued. It lasted four days: the first was for Gaul, the second for Egypt, the third for his victories in Asia, and the fourth for that over Juba in Africa. His veteran soldiers, all scarred with wounds, and now laid up for life, followed their triumphant general crowned with laurels, and conducted him to the Capitol. To every one of these he gave a sum equivalent to about a hundred and fifty pounds of our money, double that sum to the centurions, and four times as much to the superior officers. The citizens also shared his bounty; to every one of whom he distributed ten bushels of corn, ten pounds of oil, and a sum of money equal to about two pounds sterling of ours. He, after this, entertained the people at above twenty thousand tables, treated them with the combat of gladiators, and filled Rome with a concourse of spectators from every part of Italy.

The people, intoxicated with the allurements of pleasure, thought their freedom too small a return for such benefits: they seemed eager only to find out new modes of homage, and unusual epithets of adulation for their great enslaver. He was created by a new title *Magister Morum*, or master of the morals of the people; he re-

ceived the title of Emperor, father of his country; his person was declared sacred; and, in short, upon him alone were devolved for life all the great dignities of the state. It must be owned, however, that so much power could never have been intrusted to better keeping. He immediately began his empire by repressing vice and encouraging virtue. He committed the power of judicature to the senators and the knights alone, and by many sumptuary laws restrained the scandalous luxuries of the rich. He proposed rewards to all such as had many children, and took the most prudent methods of re-peopling the city, that had been exhausted in the late commotions.

Having thus restored prosperity once more to Rome, he again found himself under a necessity of going into Spain to oppose an army which had been raised there under the two sons of Pompey, and also Labienus his former general. He proceeded in this expedition with his usual celerity, and arrived in Spain before the enemy thought him yet departed from Rome. Cneius and Sextus, Pompey's sons, profiting by their unhappy father's example, resolved as much as possible to protract the war; so that the first operations of the two armies were spent in sieges and fruitless attempts to surprise each other. At length Cæsar, after taking many cities from the enemy, and pursuing Pompey with unwearied perseverance, at last compelled him to come to a battle upon the plains of Munda. Pompey drew

up his men by break of day upon the declivity of a hill with great exactness and order. Cæsar drew up his men likewise in the plain below; and, after advancing a little way from his trenches, he ordered his men to make a halt, expecting the enemy to come down from the hill. This delay made Cæsar's soldiers begin to murmur, while Pompey's, with full vigour, poured down upon them, and a dreadful conflict ensued. Hitherto Cæsar had fought for glory, but here he fought for life. His soldiers behaved with intrepidity, incited by the hopes of making this a final period to their labour. Pompey's men were not less strenuous, expecting no pardon, as having their lives formerly given them when overthrown in Africa. The first shock was so dreadful, that Cæsar's men, who had hitherto been used to conquer, now began to waver. Cæsar was never in so much danger as now; he threw himself several times into the very throng of battle. "What!" cried he, "are you going to give up your general, who is grown gray in fighting at your head, to a parcel of boys?" Upon this his tenth legion, willing to recover their general's lost esteem, exerted themselves with more than former bravery; and a party of horse being detached by Labienus from the camp in pursuit of a body of Numidian cavalry, Cæsar cried aloud, that they were flying. This cry instantly spread itself through both armies, exciting the one as much as it depressed the other. Now, therefore, the tenth legion pressed forward, and a total rout

soon ensued. Thirty thousand men were killed on Pompey's side, amongst whom was Labienus, whom Cæsar ordered to be buried with the funeral honours of a general officer. Cneius Pompey escaped with a few horsemen to the sea-side; but finding his passage intercepted by Cæsar's lieutenant, he was obliged to seek for a retreat in an obscure cavern. There, wounded and destitute of all kinds of succour, he patiently awaited the approach of the enemy. He was quickly discovered by some of Cæsar's troops, who presently cut off his head, and brought it to the conqueror. His brother Sextus, however, concealed himself so well that he escaped all pursuit; so that Cæsar was obliged to return without him, after having severely fined the cities of Spain for their late imputed rebellion.

Cæsar by this last blow subdued all his avowed enemies, and had now conquered the best part of the world in almost as short a time as others could travel through the same extent of country. He therefore returned to Rome for the last time, to receive new dignities and honours, and to enjoy in his own person an accumulation of all the great offices of the state. Still, however, he pretended to a moderation in the enjoyment of his power; he left the consuls to be named by the people; but, as he possessed all the authority of the office, it from that time began to sink into contempt. He enlarged the number of senators also; but as he had previously destroyed their power, their new honours were but empty titles.

He took care to pardon all who had been in arms against him, but not till he had deprived them of the power of resistance. He even set up once more the statues of Pompey, which, however, as Cicero observed, he only did to secure his own. In short, if his clemency, his justice, and moderation, did not proceed from virtue, yet they had all the effect of virtues in the state, which answered the purpose of the public as well.

The rest of this extraordinary man's life was employed for the advantage of the state. He adorned the city with magnificent buildings; he rebuilt Carthage and Corinth, sending colonies to both cities; he undertook to level several mountains in Italy, to drain the Pontine marshes near Rome, and designed to cut through the isthmus of Peloponnesus. Thus, with a mind that could never remain inactive, he pondered mighty projects and designs beyond the limits of the longest life; but the greatest of all was his intended expedition against the Parthians, by which he designed to revenge the death of Crassus, who, having penetrated too far into their country, was overthrown, himself taken prisoner, and put to a cruel death, by having molten gold poured down his throat, as a punishment for his former avarice. From thence Cæsar intended to pass through Hyrcania, and enter Scythia along the banks of the Caspian sea; then to open himself a way through the immeasurable forests of Germany into Gaul, and so to return to Rome.

These were the aims of ambition: the jealousy of a few individuals put an end to them all.

The senate, with an adulation which marked the degeneracy of the times, continued to load him with fresh honours, and he continued with equal vanity to receive them. They called one of the months of the year after his name; they stamped money with his image; they ordered his statue to be set up in all the cities of the empire; they instituted public sacrifices on his birth-day; and talked, even in his life-time, of enrolling him among the number of their gods. Antony, at one of the public festivals, foolishly ventured to offer him a diadem; but he put it back again, refusing it several times, and receiving at every refusal loud acclamations from the people. One day, when the senate ordered him some particular honours, he neglected to rise from his seat; and from that moment envy began to mark him for destruction. Mankind are ever most offended at any trespass on ceremony, since a violation of decorum is usually an instance of contempt. It began, therefore, to be rumoured that he intended to make himself king; and, though in fact he was possessed of the power, the people, who had an utter aversion to the name, could not bear his assuming the title. Whether he really designed to assume that empty honour, must now for ever remain a secret; but certain it is, that the unsuspecting openness of his conduct marked something like a confidence in the innocence of his intentions. When informed by those about him

of the jealousies of many persons who envied his power, he was heard to say, that he had rather die once by treason, than to live continually in apprehension of it. When advised by some to beware of Brutus, in whom he had for some time reposed the greatest confidence, he opened his breast, all scarred with wounds, saying, "Can "you think Brutus cares for such poor pillage "as this?" And being one night at supper, as his friends disputed among themselves what death was easiest, he replied, that which was most sudden, and least foreseen. But to convince the world how little he had to apprehend from his enemies, he disbanded his company of Spanish guards, which facilitated the enterprise against his life; for he should have considered, that confidence in an usurper is but rashness.

A deep-laid conspiracy was absolutely in agitation against him, composed of no less than sixty senators. They were still the more formidable, as the generality of them were of his own party; and being raised above other citizens, felt more strongly the weight of a single superior. At the head of this conspiracy were—Brutus, whose life Cæsar had spared after the battle of Pharsalia; and Cassius, who was pardoned soon after; both prætors for the present year. Brutus made it his chief glory to have been descended from that Brutus who first gave liberty to Rome. The passion for freedom seemed to have been transmitted with the blood of his ancestors down to him. But though he detested tyranny, yet he

could not forbear loving the tyrant, from whom he had received the most signal benefits. However, the love of his country broke all the ties of private friendship, and he entered into a conspiracy which was to destroy his benefactor. Cassius, on the other hand, was impetuous and proud, and hated Cæsar's person still more than his cause. He had often sought an opportunity of gratifying his revenge by assassination, which took rise rather from private than from public motives.

The conspirators, to give a colour of justice to their proceedings, remitted the execution of their design to the ides of March, the day on which Cæsar was to be offered the crown. The augurs had foretold that this day would be fatal to him; and in the night preceding he heard his wife Calpurnia lamenting in her sleep, and being awakened, she confessed to him, that she dreamt of his being assassinated in her arms. These omens, in some measure, began to change his intentions of going to the senate, as he had resolved, that day; but one of the conspirators coming in, prevailed upon him to keep his resolution, telling him of the reproach that would attend his staying at home till his wife had lucky dreams, and of the preparations that were made for his appearance. As he went along to the senate, a slave, who hastened to him with information of the conspiracy, attempted to come near him, but could not for the crowd. Artemidorus, a Greek philosopher, who had discovered the whole plot,

delivered him a memorial containing the heads of his information; but Cæsar gave it, with other papers, to one of his secretaries without reading, as was usual in things of this nature. Being at length entered the senate-house, where the conspirators were prepared to receive him, he met one Spurina, an augur, who had foretold his danger, to whom he said, smiling, "Well, Spu-"rina, the ides of March are come." "Yes," replied the augur, "but they are not yet over." As soon as he had taken his place, the conspirators came near him under pretence of saluting him; and Cimber, who was one of them, approached in a suppliant posture, pretending to sue for his brother's pardon, who had been banished by his order. All the conspirators seconded him with great earnestness; and Cimber, seeming to sue with still greater submission, took hold of the bottom of his robe, holding him so as to prevent his rising. This was the signal agreed on. Casca, who was behind, stabbed him, though slightly, in the shoulder. Cæsar instantly turned round, and, with the style of his tablet, wounded him in the arm. However, all the conspirators were now alarmed, and, enclosing him round, he received a second stab from an unknown hand in the breast, while Cassius wounded him in the face. He still defended himself with great vigour, rushing among them, and throwing down such as opposed him, till he saw Brutus among the conspirators, who, coming up, struck his dagger into his thigh. From that moment Cæsar

thought no more of defending himself, but looking upon this conspirator, cried out, "And you "too, my son!" Then covering his head, and spreading his robe before him, in order to fall with greater decency, he sunk down at the base of Pompey's statue, after receiving three-and-twenty wounds from hands which he vainly supposed he had disarmed by his benefits.

Cæsar was killed in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and about fourteen years after he began the conquest of the world. If we examine his history, we shall be equally at a loss whether most to admire his great abilities or his wonderful fortune. To pretend to say, that from the beginning he planned the subjection of his native country, is doing no great credit to his well-known penetration, as a thousand obstacles lay in his way, which fortune, rather than conduct, was to surmount. No man, therefore, of his sagacity, would have begun a scheme in which the chances of succeeding were so many against him: it is most probable that, like all very successful men, he only made the best of every occurrence; and his ambition rising with his good fortune, from at first being contented with humbler aims, he at last began to think of governing the world, when he found scarce any obstacle to oppose his designs. Such is the disposition of man, whose cravings after power are always most insatiable when he enjoys the greatest share.

CHAPTER II.

From the Death of Cæsar to the Battle of Actium and the Death of Antony, which settled the Constitution in Augustus.

U. C. 710. UPON the death of Cæsar, a conjuncture happened which was never known before: there was no longer any tyrant, and yet liberty was extinguished; for the causes which had contributed to its destruction still subsisted to prevent its revival. The senate had made an ill use of their power in the times of Sylla, and the people shuddered at the thought of trusting them with it once more.

As soon as the conspirators had dispatched Cæsar, they began to address themselves to the senate, in order to vindicate the motives of their enterprise, and to excite them to join in procuring their country's freedom: but the universal coldness with which their expostulations were received, soon taught them to fear their conduct would not meet with many advocates. All the senators who were not accomplices, fled with such precipitation that the lives of some of them were endangered in the throng. The people also, being now alarmed, left their usual occupations, and ran tumultuously through the city: some actuated by their fears, and still more by a

desire of plunder. In this state of confusion the conspirators all retired to the Capitol, and guarded its accesses by a body of gladiators which Brutus had in pay. It was in vain they alleged that they only struck for freedom, and that they killed a tyrant who had usurped the rights of mankind: the people, accustomed to luxury and ease, little regarded their professions, dreading more the dangers of poverty than of subjection.

The friends of the late dictator now began to find that this was the time for coming into greater power than before, and for satisfying their ambition under the veil of promoting justice. Of this number was Antony, whom we have already seen acting as a lieutenant under Cæsar, and governing Rome in his absence with such little justice or decency. He was a man of moderate abilities and excessive vices, ambitious of power only because it gave his pleasures a wider range to riot in; but skilled in war, to which he had been trained from his youth. He was consul for this year, and resolved, with Lepidus, who was fond of commotions like himself, to seize this opportunity of gaining that power which Cæsar had died for usurping. Lepidus, therefore, took possession of the Forum with a band of soldiers at his devotion; and Antony, being consul, was permitted to command them. Their first step was to possess themselves of all Cæsar's papers and money, and the next to convene the senate. Never had this august assembly been convened upon so delicate an occasion, as it was to deter-

mine, whether Cæsar had been a legal magistrate or a tyrannical usurper; and whether those who killed him merited rewards or punishments. There were many of these who had received all their promotions from Cæsar, and had acquired large fortunes in consequence of his appointments: to vote him an usurper, therefore, would be to endanger their property; and yet to vote him innocent might endanger the state. In this dilemma they seemed willing to reconcile extremes; wherefore they approved all the acts of Cæsar, and yet granted a general pardon to all the conspirators.

This decree was very far from giving Antony satisfaction, as it granted security to a number of men who were the avowed enemies of tyranny, and who would be foremost in opposing his schemes of restoring absolute power. As, therefore, the senate had ratified all Cæsar's acts without distinction, he formed a scheme upon this of making him rule when dead as imperiously as he had done when living. Being, as was said, possessed of Cæsar's books of accounts, he so far gained upon his secretary as to make him insert whatever he thought proper. By these means great sums of money, which Cæsar would never have bestowed, were there distributed among the people; and every man who had any seditious designs against the government was there sure of finding a gratuity. Things being in this forwardness, he demanded that Cæsar's funeral-obsequies should be performed, which the senate

now could not decently forbid, as they had never declared him a tyrant: accordingly the body was brought forth into the Forum with the utmost solemnity; and Antony, who charged himself with these last duties of friendship, began his operations upon the passions of the people by the prevailing motives of private interest. He first read them Cæsar's will, in which he had left Octavius, his sister's grandson, his heir, permitting him to take the name of Cæsar; and three parts of his private fortune Brutus was to inherit in case of his death. The Roman people were left the gardens which he had on the other side of the Tiber; and every citizen, in particular, was to receive three hundred sesterces. This last bequest not a little contributed to increase the people's affection for their late dictator; they now began to consider Cæsar as a father, who, not satisfied with doing them the greatest good while living, thought of benefitting them even after death. As Antony continued reading, the multitude began to be moved, and sighs and lamentations were heard from every quarter. Antony seeing the audience favourable to his designs, now began to address the assembly in a more pathetic strain: he presented before them Cæsar's bloody robe, and, as he unfolded it, took care they should observe the number of stabs in it: then displaying an image, which to them appeared the body of Cæsar all covered with wounds— "This," cried he, "this is all that is left of him "who was befriended by the gods, and loved by

"mankind even to adoration. This is he to "whom we vowed eternal fidelity, and whose "person both the senate and the people concurred "to declare was sacred. Behold now the execu-"tion of these vows! behold here the proofs of "our gratitude! the bravest of men destroyed "by the most ungrateful of mankind! He who "showered down his benefits upon the betrayers, "found his death as the only return! Is there "none to revenge his cause? Is there none "that, mindful of former benefits, will show "himself now deserving of them? Yes, there is "one: behold me, O Jupiter, thou avenger of "the brave, ready to offer up my life on this "glorious occasion. And you, ye deities, pro-"tectors of the Roman empire, accept my so-"lemn vows, and favour the rectitude of my "intentions." The people could now no longer contain their indignation; they unanimously cried out for revenge; all the old soldiers who had fought under Cæsar, burnt, with his body, their coronets, and other marks of conquest with which he had honoured them. A great number of the first matrons in the city threw in their ornaments also; till, at length, rage succeeding to sorrow, the multitude ran, with flaming brands from the pile, to set fire to the conspirators' houses. In this rage of resentment, meeting with one Cinna, whom they mistook for another of the same name who was in the conspiracy, they tore him in pieces. The conspirators themselves, however, being well guarded, repulsed the

multitude with no great trouble; but perceiving the rage of the people, they thought it, soon after, safest to retire from the city. The populace being thus left to themselves, set no bounds to their sorrow and gratitude. Divine honours were granted him; an altar was erected on the place where his body was burnt, where, afterwards, was erected a column, inscribed to the father of his country.

In the mean time, Antony, who had excited this flame, resolved to make the best of the occasion. Having gained the people, by his zeal in Cæsar's cause, he next endeavoured to bring over the senate, by a seeming concern for the freedom of the state. He therefore proposed to recall Sextus, Pompey's only remaining son, who had concealed himself in Spain since the death of his father; and to grant him the command of all the fleets of the empire. His next step to their confidence, was the quelling a sedition of the people who rose to revenge the death of Cæsar, and putting their leader Amathus to death, who pretended to be the son of Marius. He, after this, pretended to dread the resentment of the multitude, and demanded a guard for the security of his person. The senate granted his request; and under this pretext, he drew round him a body of six thousand resolute men, attached to his interest, and ready to execute his commands. Thus he continued every day making rapid strides to absolute power; all the authority of government was lodged in his hands and those

of his two brothers alone; who shared among them the consular, tribunitian, and prætorian power. His vows to revenge Cæsar's death seemed either postponed, or totally forgotten; and his only aims seemed to be to confirm himself in that power which he had thus artfully acquired. But an obstacle to his ambition seemed to arise from a quarter in which he least expected it. This was from Octavius Cæsar, afterwards called Augustus, as we shall henceforth take leave to call him, though he did not receive the title till long after. Augustus, who was the grand-nephew and adopted son of Cæsar, was at Apollonia when his kinsman was slain. He was then but eighteen years old; and had been sent to that city to improve himself in the study of Grecian literature. Upon the news of Cæsar's death, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasions of all his friends, he resolved to return to Rome, to claim the inheritance, and revenge the death of his uncle. From the former professions of Antony, he expected to find him a warm assistant to his aims; and he doubted not, by his concurrence, to take signal vengeance on all who had a hand in the conspiracy. However, he was greatly disappointed. Antony, whose projects were all to aggrandize himself, gave him but a very cold reception; and, instead of granting him the fortune left him by the will, delayed the payment of it upon various pretences, hoping to check his ambition, by limiting his circumstances. But Augustus seems to have

inherited, not only the wealth, but the inclinations of his uncle: instead, therefore, of abating his claims, he even sold his own patrimonial estate, to pay such legacies as Cæsar had left; and particularly that to the people. By these means he gained a degree of popularity, which his enemies vainly laboured to diminish; and which, in fact, he had many other methods to procure. His conversation was elegant and insinuating; his face comely and graceful: and his affection to the late dictator so sincere, that every person was charmed, either with his piety or his address. But what added still more to his interest, was the name of Cæsar, which he had assumed; and, in consequence of which, the former followers of his uncle now flocked in great numbers to him. All these he managed with such art, that, while he gained their affections, he never lost their esteem; so that Antony now began to conceive a violent jealousy for the talents of his young opponent, and secretly laboured to counteract all his designs. In fact, he did not want reason; for the army near Rome, that had long wished to see the conspirators punished, began to turn from him to his rival, whom they saw more sincerely bent on gratifying their desires. Antony having also procured the government of Hither Gaul from the people, two of his legions, that he had brought home from his former government of Macedonia, went over to Augustus, notwithstanding all his remonstrances to detain them. This produced,

as usual, interviews, complaints, recriminations, and pretended reconciliations, which only tended to widen the difference; so that, at length, both sides prepared for war. Thus the state was divided into three distinct factions; that of Augustus, who aimed at procuring Cæsar's inheritance and revenging his death; that of Antony, whose sole view was to obtain absolute power; and that of the conspirators, who endeavoured to restore the senate to its former authority.

Antony being raised by the people to his new government of Cisalpine Gaul, contrary to the inclinations of the senate, resolved to enter upon his province immediately, and oppose Brutus, who commanded a small body of troops there, while his army was yet entire. He accordingly left Rome, and marching thither, commanded Brutus to depart. Brutus, being unable to oppose him, retired with his forces; but being pursued by Antony, he was at last besieged in the city of Mutina, of which he sent word to the senate.

In the mean while Augustus, who by this time had raised a body of ten thousand men, returned to Rome; and being resolved, before he attempted to take vengeance on the conspirators, if possible, to diminish the power of Antony, began by bringing over the senate to second his designs. In this he succeeded, by the credit of Cicero, who long had hated Antony, because he thought him the enemy of the state. Accordingly, by means of his great eloquence, a decree was passed,

ordering Antony to raise the siege of Mutina, to evacuate Cisalpine Gaul, and to await the further orders of the senate upon the banks of the Rubicon. It may easily be supposed, that, in the present state of government in Rome, a commander at the head of a victorious army, would pay little attention to an ineffective decree. Antony treated the order with contempt; and, instead of obeying, began to express his displeasure at being hitherto so submissive. Nothing now, therefore, remained for the senate, but to declare him an enemy to the state, and to send Augustus, with the army he had raised, to curb his insolence. Augustus was very ready to offer his army for this expedition, in order to punish his own private injuries, before he undertook those of the public. The two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, joined also their forces; and thus combined, they marched, at the head of a numerous army, against Antony, into Cisalpine Gaul. He, on his part, was not slow in opposing them. After one or two ineffectual conflicts, both armies came to a general engagement; in which Antony was defeated, and compelled to fly to Lepidus, who commanded a body of forces in Further Gaul. This victory, however, which promised the senate so much success, produced effects very different from their expectations. The two consuls were mortally wounded; but Pansa, previous to his death, calling Augustus to his bed-side, advised him to join with Antony, telling him, that the senate only desired to depress

both by opposing them to each other. The advice of the dying consul sunk deep on the spirits of Augustus; so that, from that time, he only sought a pretext to break with them. Their giving the command of a part of his army to Decimus Brutus, and their denying him a triumph soon after, served to alienate his mind entirely from them, and made him resolve to join Antony and Lepidus. He was willing, however, to try the senate thoroughly, before he came to an open rupture; wherefore, he sent to demand the consulship, which was refused him. He then thought himself obliged to keep no measures with that assembly, but privately sent to sound the inclinations of Antony and Lepidus, concerning a junction of forces, and found them as eager to assist, as the senate was to oppose him. Antony was, in fact, the general of both armies; and Lepidus was only nominally so, his soldiers refusing to obey him upon the approach of the former. Wherefore, upon being assured of the assistance of Augustus upon their arrival in Italy, they soon crossed the Alps with an army of seventeen legions, breathing revenge against all who had opposed their designs.

The senate now began, too late, to perceive their error, in offering to disoblige Augustus; they, therefore, gave him the consulship, which they had so lately refused; and, to prevent his joining with Antony, flattered him with new honours, and gave him a power superior to all law. The first use Augustus made of his new

authority was to procure a law for the condemnation of Brutus and Cassius; and, in short, to join his forces with those of Antony and Lepidus.

The meeting of these three usurpers of their country's freedom, was near Mutina, upon a little island of the river Panarus. Their mutual suspicions were the cause of their meeting in a place where they could not fear any treachery; for, even in their union, they could not divest themselves of mutual diffidence. Lepidus first entered; and, finding all things safe, made the signal for the other two to approach. They embraced each other upon their first meeting: and Augustus began the conference, by thanking Antony for his zeal in putting Decimus Brutus to death; who, being abandoned by his army, was taken, as he was designing to escape into Macedonia, and beheaded by Antony's command. They then entered upon the business that lay before them, without any retrospection of the past. Their conference lasted for three days; and, in this period, they fixed a division of government, and determined upon the fate of thousands. One can scarce avoid wondering, how that city, which gave birth to such men as Fabricius and Cato, could now be a tame spectator of a conference which bartered away the lives and liberties of the people at their pleasure. To see these three men seated, without attendants, on the highest part of a desolate island, marking out whole cities and nations for destruction, and yet

none to oppose their designs, shows what changes may quickly be wrought in the bravest people in a very short time. The result of their conference was, that the supreme authority should be lodged in their hands, under the title of the Triumvirate, for the space of five years, that Antony should have Gaul; Lepidus, Spain; and Augustus, Africa and the Mediterranean islands. As for Italy, and the eastern provinces, they were to remain in common, until their general enemy was entirely subdued. But the last article of their union was a dreadful one; it was agreed, that all their enemies should be destroyed, of which each presented a list. In these were comprised not only the enemies, but the friends of the triumvirate, since the partizans of the one were often found among the opposers of the other. Thus Lepidus gave up his brother Paulus to the vengeance of his colleague; Antony permitted the proscription of his uncle Lucius; and Augustus delivered up the great Cicero. The most sacred rights of nature were violated; three hundred senators, and above two thousand knights, were included in this terrible proscription; their fortunes were confiscated, and their murderers enriched with the spoil. Rome soon felt the effects of this infernal union: nothing but cries and lamentations were to be heard through all the city, scarce a house escaping without a murder. No man dared to refuse entrance to the assassins, although he had no other hopes of safety; and this city, that was once the beauty

of the world, seemed now reduced to desolation without an army; and now felt the effects of an invading enemy, with all the deliberate malice of cool-blooded slaughter.

In this horrid carnage, Cicero was one of those principally sought after; who, for a while, seemed to evade the malice of his pursuers; but upon hearing of the slaughters that were committed at Rome, he set forward from his Tusculan villa towards the sea-side, with an intent to transport himself directly out of the reach of his enemies. There finding a vessel ready, he presently embarked; but the winds being adverse, and the sea wholly uneasy to him, after he had sailed about two leagues along the coast, he was obliged to land, and spend the night upon shore. From thence he was forced by the importunity of his servants on board again; but was soon after obliged to land at a country-seat of his, a mile from the shore, weary of life, and declaring he was resolved to die in that country which he had so often saved. Here he slept soundly for some time, till his servants once more forced him away in a litter towards the ship, having heard that he was pursued by a party of Antony's assassins. They were scarce departed, when the assassins arrived at his house, and perceiving him to be fled, pursued him immediately towards the sea, and overtook him in a wood that lay near the shore. Their leader was one Popilius Lænas, a tribune of the army, whose life Cicero had formerly defended and saved. As soon as the sol-

diers appeared, the servants prepared to defend their master's life at the hazard of their own; but Cicero commanded them to set him down, and to make no resistance. They soon cut off his head and his hands, returning with them to Rome, as the most agreeable present to their cruel employer. Antony, who was then at Rome, received them with extreme joy, rewarded the murderer with a large sum of money, and placed Cicero's head on the rostrum, as if there once more to reproach his vile inhumanity. Cicero was slain in the sixty-third year of his age, but not until he had seen his country ruined before him. "The "glory he obtained," says Julius Cæsar, "was "as much above all other triumphs, as the extent of the Roman genius was above that of "the bounds of the Roman empire."

Thus the proscription went on to rage for some time with as much violence as when it began. As many as could escape its cruelty fled either into Macedonia to Brutus, or found refuge with young Pompey, who was now in Sicily, and covered the Mediterranean with his numerous navy. Their cruelties were not aimed at the men alone: but the softer sex were in danger of being marked as objects either of avarice or resentment. They made out a list of fourteen hundred women of the best quality, and the richest in the city, who were ordered to give in an account of their fortunes, to be taxed in proportion. But this seemed so unpopular a measure, and was so firmly opposed by Hortensia, who spoke against it, that,

instead of fourteen hundred women, they were content to tax only four hundred. However, they made up the deficiency, by extending the tax upon men; near a hundred thousand, as well citizens as strangers, were compelled to furnish supplies to the subversion of their country's freedom. At last, both the avarice and vengeance of the triumviri seemed fully satisfied, and they went into the senate to declare that the proscription was at an end: and thus having deluged the city with blood, Augustus and Antony, leaving Lepidus to defend Rome in their absence, marched with their army to oppose the conspirators, who were now at the head of a formidable army in Asia.

Brutus and Cassius, the principal of these, upon the death of Cæsar, being compelled to quit Rome, went into Greece, where they persuaded the Roman students at Athens to declare in the cause of freedom; then parting, the former raised a powerful army in Macedonia and the adjacent countries, while the latter went into Syria, where he soon became master of twelve legions, and reduced his opponent, Dolabella, to such straits as to kill himself. Both armies soon after joining at Smyrna, the sight of such a formidable force began to revive the declining spirits of the party, and to re-unite the two generals still more closely, between whom there had been, some time before, a slight misunderstanding. In short, having quitted Italy like distressed exiles, without having one single soldier or one town that

owned their command, they now found themselves at the head of a flourishing army, furnished with all the necessaries for carrying on the war, and in a condition to support a contest where the empire of the world depended on the event. This success in raising levies was entirely owing to the justice, moderation, and great humanity of Brutus, who, in every instance, seemed studious of the happiness of his country, and not his own.

It was in this flourishing state of their affairs, that the conspirators had formed a resolution of going against Cleopatra, who, on her side, had made great preparations to assist their opponents. However, they were diverted from this purpose by an information that Augustus and Antony were now upon their march with forty legions to oppose them. Brutus now, therefore, moved to have their army pass over into Greece and Macedonia, and there meet the enemy: but Cassius so far prevailed, as to have the Rhodians and Lycians first reduced, who had refused their usual contributions. This expedition was immediately put in execution, and extraordinary contributions were raised by that means, the Rhodians having scarce any thing left them but their lives. The Lycians suffered still more severely; for, having shut themselves up in the city of Xanthus, they defended the place against Brutus with such fury, that neither his arts nor his entreaties could prevail upon them to surrender. At length, the town being set on fire,

by their attempting to burn the works of the Romans, Brutus, instead of laying hold on this opportunity to storm the place, made every effort to preserve it, entreating his soldiers to try all means of extinguishing the fire: but the desperate phrensy of the citizens was not to be mollified. Far from thinking themselves obliged to their generous enemy, for the efforts which were made to save them, they resolved to perish in the flames. Wherefore, instead of extinguishing, they did all in their power to augment the fire, by throwing in wood, dry reeds, and all kinds of fuel. Nothing could exceed the distress of Brutus, upon seeing the townsmen thus resolutely bent upon destroying themselves: he rode about the fortifications, stretching out his hands to the Xanthians, and conjuring them to have pity on themselves and their city; but, insensible to his expostulations, they rushed into the flames with desperate obstinacy, and the whole soon became a heap of undistinguishable ruin. At this horrid spectacle Brutus melted into tears, offering a reward to every soldier who should bring him a Lycian alive. The number of those whom it was possible to save from their own fury amounted to no more than one hundred and fifty.

Brutus and Cassius met once more at Sardis, where, after the usual ceremonies were past between them, they resolved to have a private conference together. They shut themselves up, therefore, in the first convenient house, with ex-

press orders to their servants to give no admission. Brutus began, by reprimanding Cassius for having disposed of offices, which should ever be the reward of merit, and for having overtaxed the tributary states. Cassius retorted the imputation of avarice with the more bitterness, as he knew the charge to be groundless. The debate grew warm, till from loud speaking, they burst into tears. Their friends, who were standing at the door, overheard the increasing vehemence of their voices, and began to dread for the consequences; till Favonius, who valued himself upon a cynical boldness that knew no restraint, entering the room with a jest, calmed their mutual animosity. Cassius was ready enough to forego his anger, being a man of great abilities, but of uneven disposition; not averse to pleasure in private company; and, upon the whole, of morals not quite sincere. But the conduct of Brutus was always perfectly steady. An even gentleness, a noble elevation of sentiment, a strength of mind over which neither vice nor pleasure could have any influence, an inflexible firmness in the defence of justice, composed the character of that great man. In consequence of these qualities, he was beloved by his army, doted upon by his friends, and admired by all good men. After their conference, night coming on, Cassius invited Brutus and his friends to an entertainment, where freedom and cheerfulness for a while took place of political anxiety, and softened the severity of wisdom. Upon retiring home, it

was that Brutus, as Plutarch tells the story, saw a spectre in his tent. He naturally slept but little, and he had increased this state of watchfulness by habit and great sobriety. He never allowed himself to sleep in the day time, as was then common in Rome; and only gave so much of the night to sleep as could barely renew the natural functions. But especially now, when oppressed with such various cares, he only gave a short time after his nightly repast to rest; and, waking about midnight, generally read or studied till morning. It was in the dead of the night, when the whole camp was perfectly quiet, that Brutus was thus employed in reading by a lamp that was just expiring. On a sudden he thought he heard a noise as if somebody entered, and looking towards the door he perceived it open. A gigantic figure, with a frightful aspect, stood before him, and continued to gaze upon him with silent severity. At last Brutus had courage to speak to it: "Art thou a dæmon "or a mortal man? and why comest thou to me?" "Brutus," replied the phantom, "I am thy evil "genius; thou shalt see me again at Philippi." "Well, then," answered Brutus, without being discomposed, "we shall meet again." Upon which the phantom vanished; and Brutus calling to his servants, asked if they had seen any thing; to which replying in the negative, he again resumed his studies. But as he was struck with so strange an occurrence, he mentioned it the next day to Cassius, who being an Epicurean, as-

cribed it to the effect of an imagination too much exercised by vigilance and anxiety. Brutus appeared satisfied with this solution of his late terrors; and as Antony and Augustus were now advanced into Macedonia, Brutus and his colleague soon passed over into Thrace, and advanced to the city of Philippi, near which the forces of the triumviri were posted.

All mankind now began to regard the approaching armies with terror and suspense. The empire of the world depended upon the fate of a battle; as from victory on the one side, they had to expect freedom; but from the other, a sovereign with absolute command. Brutus was the only man who looked upon these great events before him with calmness and tranquillity. Indifferent as to success, and satisfied with having done his duty, he said to one of his friends, "If "I gain the victory, I shall restore liberty to my "country; if I lose it, by dying I shall be delivered from slavery myself; my condition is "fixed, and I run no hazards." The republican army consisted of fourscore thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. The army of the triumviri amounted to a hundred thousand foot and thirteen thousand horse. Thus complete on both sides, they met and encamped near each other upon the plains of Philippi, a city upon the confines of Thrace. This city was situated upon a mountain, towards the west of which a plain stretched itself by a gentle declivity, almost fifteen leagues to the banks of the river Strymon.

In this plain, about two miles from the town, were two little hills at about a mile distance from each other, defended on one side by mountains, on the other by a marsh which communicated with the sea. It was upon these two hills that Brutus and Cassius fixed their camps: Brutus on the hill towards the north; Cassius on that towards the south: and in the intermediate space which separated them, they cast up lines and a parapet from one hill to another. Thus they kept a firm communication between the two camps, which mutually defended each other. In this commodious situation they could act as they thought proper, and give battle only when it was thought to their advantage to engage. Behind them was the sea, which furnished them with all kinds of provisions; and at twelve miles distance, the island of Thasos, which served them for a general magazine. The triumviri, on the other hand, were encamped on the plain below, and were obliged to bring their provisions from fifteen leagues distance; so that their scheme and interest was to bring on a battle as soon as they could. This they offered several times, drawing out their men from their camp, and provoking the enemy to engage. On the contrary, these contented themselves with drawing up their troops at the head of their camps, but without descending to the plain. This resolution of postponing the battle, was all that the republican army had for it; and Cassius, who was aware of his advantage, resolved to harass the enemy rather

than engage them. But Brutus began to suspect the fidelity of some of his officers, so that he used all his influence to persuade Cassius to change his resolution. " I am impatient," said he, " to put an end to the miseries of mankind, " and in that I have hopes of succeeding whether " I fall or conquer." His wishes were soon gratified; for Antony's soldiers having, with great labour, made a road through the marsh which lay to the left of Cassius's camp, by that means opened a communication with the island of Thasos, which lay behind him. Both armies, in attempting to possess themselves of this road, resolved at length to come to a general engagement. This, however, was contrary to the advice of Cassius, who declared, that he was forced, as Pompey had formerly been, to expose the liberty of Rome to the hazard of a battle. The ensuing morning the two generals gave the signal for engaging, and conferred together a little while before the battle began. Cassius desired to know how Brutus intended to act in case they were unsuccessful: to which the other replied, " That he had formerly, in his writings, con- " demned the death of Cato; and maintained, " that avoiding calamities by suicide, was an in- " solent attempt against Heaven that sent them; " but he had now altered his opinions, and, hav- " ing given up his life to his country, he thought " he had a right to his own way of ending it; " wherefore he was resolved to change a misera- " ble being here for a better hereafter, if for-

" tune proved against him." "Well said, my " friend," cried Cassius, embracing him; " now " we may venture to face the enemy; for either " we shall be conquerors ourselves, or we shall " have no cause to fear those that are so." Augustus being sick, the forces of the triumviri were commanded alone by Antony, who began the engagement by a vigorous attack upon the lines of Cassius. Brutus, on the other side, made a dreadful irruption on the army of Augustus; and drove forward with so much intrepidity, that he broke them upon the very first charge. Upon this he penetrated as far as the camp, and cutting in pieces those who were left for its defence, his troops immediately began to plunder: but in the mean time the lines of Cassius were forced, and his cavalry put to flight. There was no effort that this unfortunate general did not try to make his infantry stand, stopping those that fled, and seizing himself the colours to rally them. But his own valour alone was not sufficient to inspire his timorous army. He saw himself entirely routed, his camp taken, and himself obliged to retire under a little hill at some distance. Brutus, who had gained a complete victory, was just returning at this interval with his triumphant army, when he found that all was lost on the part of his associate; he sent out a body of cavalry to bring him news of Cassius, who perceiving them advance towards him, sent one Titinius to inform himself whether they were friends or enemies. Titinius soon joined this

body, who received him with great transport, informing him of their success; but delaying too long, Cassius began to mistake them for what his fears had suggested, and crying out, "that he "had exposed his dearest friend to be taken pri-"soner," he retired to his tent with one of his freedmen, named Pindarus, who slew him, and then was never heard of after. Titinius arrived in triumph with the body of horsemen, but his joy was soon turned into anguish upon seeing his friend dead in the tent before him; upon which, accusing his own delay as the cause, he punished it with falling on his sword. Brutus was by this time informed of the defeat of Cassius, and soon after of his death as he drew near the camp. He seemed scarce able to restrain the excess of his grief for a man whom he called the last of the Romans. He bathed the dead body with his tears; and, telling his friends that he thought Cassius very happy in being beyond the reach of those misfortunes which remained for them to suffer, he ordered him to be privately removed, lest the knowledge of his death should dispirit the army. It was only this precipitate despair of Cassius which gave the enemy the advantage, since, till then, the republicans might be said to have the superiority.

The first care of Brutus, when he became the sole general, was to assemble the dispersed troops of Cassius, and animate them with fresh hopes of victory. As they had lost all they possessed by the plundering of their camp, he promised them

two thousand denarii each man to make up their losses. This once more inspired them with new ardour; they admired the liberality of their general, and with loud shouts proclaimed his former intrepidity. Still, however, he had not confidence sufficient to face the adversary, who offered him battle the ensuing day. His aim was to starve his enemies, who were in extreme want of provisions, their fleet having been lately defeated. But his single opinion was overruled by the rest of his army, who now grew every day more confident of their strength, and more arrogant to their new general. He was therefore, at last, after a respite of twenty days, obliged to comply with their solicitations to try the fate of the battle. Both armies being drawn out, they remained a long while opposite to each other without offering to engage. It is said that he himself had lost much of his natural ardour by having seen the spectre the night preceding: however, he encouraged his men as much as possible, and gave the signal for battle within three hours of sun-set. He had, as usual, the advantage where he commanded in person; he bore down the enemy at the head of his infantry, and supported by his cavalry, made a very great slaughter. But his left wing fearing to be taken in flank, stretched itself out in order to enlarge its front; by means of which it became too weak to sand the shock of the enemy. It was there that the army of Brutus began to yield; and Antony pushing forward, drove the enemy so far back as

to be able to turn and attack Brutus in the rear. The troops which had belonged to Cassius communicated their terror to the rest of the forces, till at last the whole army gave way. Brutus, surrounded by the most valiant of his officers, fought for a long time with amazing valour. The son of Cato fell fighting by his side, as also the brother of Cassius; so that, at last, he was obliged to yield to necessity, and fled. In the mean time the two triumviri, now assured of victory, expressly ordered by no means to suffer the general to escape, for fear he should renew the war. Thus the whole body of the enemy seemed chiefly intent on Brutus alone, and his capture seemed inevitable. In this deplorable exigence, Lucilius, his friend, was resolved, by his own death, to effect his general's delivery. Upon perceiving a body of Thracian horse closely pursuing Brutus, and just upon the point of taking him, he boldly threw himself in their way, telling them that he was Brutus. The Thracians, overjoyed with so great a prize, immediately dispatched some of their companions with the news of their success to the army. Upon which, the ardour of the pursuit now abating, Antony marched out to meet his prisoner, and to hasten his death, or insult his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of officers and soldiers, some silently deploring the fate of so virtuous a man, others reproaching that mean desire of life for which he consented to undergo captivity. Antony now seeing the Thracians approach,

began to prepare himself for the interview; but the faithful Lucilius, advancing with a cheerful air, " It is not Brutus," said he, " that is taken; " fortune has not yet had the power of committing so great an outrage upon virtue. As for " my life, it is well spent in preserving his honour; take it, for I have deceived you." Antony, struck with so much fidelity, pardoned him upon the spot; and from that time forward loaded him with benefits, and honoured him with his friendship.

In the mean time, Brutus, with a small number of friends, passed over a rivulet, and night coming on, sat down under a rock which concealed him from the pursuit of the enemy. After taking breath for a little time, he cast his eyes up to heaven, that was all spangled with stars; he repeated a line from Euripides, containing a wish to the Gods, " That guilt should not pass " in this life without punishment." To this he added another from the same poet: " O virtue! " thou empty name, I have worshipped thee as " a real good, but thou art only the slave of for- " tune." He then called to mind, with great tenderness, those whom he had seen perish in battle, and sent out one Statilius to give him some information of those that remained; but he never returned, being killed by a party of the enemy's horse. Brutus, judging very rightly of his fate, now resolved to die likewise, and spoke to those who stood round him to lend him their last sad assistance. None of them, however,

would render him so melancholy a piece of service. Upon this, raising himself up and stretching out his hands, he spoke to them with a serene countenance, saying, "that he was happy in "the fidelity of his friends, happy in the con-"sciousness of his own rectitude; and though "he fell, yet his death was more glorious than "the triumphs of the enemy, since they were "successful in the cause of usurpation, and he "overthrown in the defence of virtue." He then retired to a little distance with one Strato, who was his master in oratory, and entreated him to do him the last office of friendship. Strato, however, expressed his reluctance in taking upon him so shocking an office. Brutus, therefore, seeing him so averse, called to one of his slaves to perform what he so ardently desired; but Strato then offered himself, crying out, "that it should "never be said that Brutus, in his last extremity, "stood in need of a slave for want of a friend." Thus saying, and averting his head, he presented the sword's point to Brutus, who threw himself upon it, and immediately expired. Thus died Brutus, and with him all hopes of liberty in Rome. By this famous overthrow, the triumviri became irresistible: and though Pompey's younger son was still alive, and at the head of a powerful army, yet, with the united forces of the empire against him, little could be expected from his greatest efforts.

From the moment of Brutus's death, the triumviri began to act as sovereigns, and to divide

the Roman dominions between them, as theirs by right of conquest. However, though there were apparently three who thus participated all power, yet, in fact, only two were actually possessed of it, since Lepidus was at first admitted merely to curb the mutual jealousy of Antony and Augustus; and was possessed neither of interest in the army, nor authority among the people. Their first care was to punish those whom they had formerly marked for vengeance. Hortensius, Drusus, and Quintilius Varus, all men of the first rank in the commonwealth, either killed themselves or were slain. A senator and his son were ordered to cast lots for their lives, but both refused it; the father voluntarily gave himself up to the executioner, and the son stabbed himself before his face. Another begged to have the rites of burial after his death; to which Augustus replied, "that he would find a grave in the "vultures that devoured him." But chiefly the people lamented to see the head of Brutus sent to Rome, to be thrown at the foot of Cæsar's statue. His ashes, however, were sent to his wife Portia, Cato's daughter; who, following the example of her husband and father, killed herself by swallowing burning coals. It is observed, that of all those who had a hand in the death of Cæsar, not one died a natural death.

The power of the triumviri being thus established upon the ruin of the commonwealth, they now began to think of enjoying that homage to which they had aspired. Antony went into

Greece to receive the flattery of that refined people, and spent some time at Athens, conversing among the philosophers, and assisting at their disputes in person. From thence he passed over into Asia, where all the monarchs of the East who acknowledged the Roman power, came to pay him their obedience; while the fairest princesses strove to gain his favour by the greatness of their presents, or the allurements of their beauty. In this manner he proceeded from kingdom to kingdom, attended by a crowd of sovereigns, exacting contributions, distributing favours, and giving away crowns with capricious insolence. He presented the kingdom of Cappadocia to Sysenes, in prejudice of Ariarathes, only because he found pleasure in the beauty of Glaphyra, the mother of the former. He settled Herod in the kingdom of Judea, and supported him against every opposer. But among all the sovereigns of the East who shared his favours, none had so large a part as Cleopatra, the celebrated queen of Egypt.

It happened that Serapion, her governor in the island of Cyprus, had formerly furnished some succours to the conspirators; and it was thought proper that she should answer for his conduct on that occasion. Accordingly, having received orders from Antony to come and clear herself of this imputation of infidelity, she readily complied, equally conscious of the goodness of her cause and the power of her beauty. She had already experienced the force of her charms upon

Cæsar and Pompey's eldest son; and the addition of a few years since that time, only served to heighten their lustre. She was now in her twenty-seventh year, and consequently improved those allurements by arts, which, in earlier age, are seldom attended to. Her address and wit were still further heightened; and, though there were some women in Rome that were her equals in beauty, none could rival her in the charms of seducing conversation. Antony was now in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia, when Cleopatra resolved to attend his court in person. She sailed down the river Cydnus, at the mouth of which the city stood, with the most sumptuous pageantry. Her galley was covered with gold, the sails of purple, large, and floating in the wind. The oars, of silver, kept tune to the sound of flutes and cymbals. She herself lay reclined on a couch spangled with stars of gold, and with such ornaments as poets and painters had usually ascribed to Venus. On each side were boys like Cupids, who fanned her by turns; while the most beautiful nymphs, dressed like Nereids and Graces, were placed at proper distances around her. Upon the banks of the river were kept burning the most exquisite perfumes, while an infinite number of people gazed upon the sight with a mixture of delight and admiration. So soon after relating the death of Brutus, I fancy it will give the reader but very little pleasure minutely to describe the triumphs of vice and infamy; suffice it therefore to say, that Antony was cap-

tivated with her beauty, and, leaving all his business to satisfy his passion, shortly after followed her into Egypt. There he continued in all that ease and softness to which his vicious heart was prone, and which that luxurious people were able to supply.

While he remained thus idle in Egypt, Augustus, who took upon him to lead back the veteran troops and settle them in Italy, was assiduously employed in providing for their subsistence. He had promised them lands at home, as a recompence for their past services; but they could not receive their new grants without turning out the former inhabitants. In consequence of this, multitudes of women, with children in their arms, whose tender years and innocence excited universal compassion, daily filled the temples and the streets with their distresses. Numbers of husbandmen and shepherds came to deprecate the conqueror's intention, or to obtain a habitation in some other part of the world. Among this number was Virgil, the poet, he to whom mankind owe more obligations than to a thousand conquerors; who, in an humble manner, begged permission to retain his patrimonial farm: Virgil obtained his request; but the rest of his countrymen, of Mantua and Cremona, were turned out without mercy.

Italy and Rome now felt the most extreme miseries; the insolent soldiers plundered at will; while Sextus Pompey, being master of the sea, cut off all foreign communication, and prevented

the people's receiving their usual supplies of corn. To these mischiefs were added the commencement of another civil war. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, who had been left behind him at Rome, had felt for some time all the rage of jealousy, and resolved to try every method of bringing back her husband from the arms of Cleopatra. She considered a breach with Augustus as the only probable means of rousing him from his lethargy; and, accordingly, with the assistance of Lucius, her brother-in-law, who was then consul, and entirely devoted to her interest, she began to sow the seeds of dissension. The pretext was, that Antony should have a share in the distribution of lands as well as Augustus. This produced some negotiations between them, and Augustus offered to make the veterans themselves umpires in the dispute. Lucius refused to acquiesce; and, being at the head of more than six legions, mostly composed of such as were dispossessed, he resolved to compel Augustus to accept of whatever terms he should offer. Thus a new war was excited between Augustus and Antony; or, at least, the generals of the latter assumed the sanction of his name. Augustus, however, was victorious: Lucius was hemmed in between two armies, and constrained to retreat to Perusia, a city of Etruria, where he was closely besieged by the opposite party. He made many desperate sallies, and Fulvia did all in her power to relieve him, but without success. He was at last, therefore, reduced to such

extremity by famine, that he came out in person, and delivered himself up to the mercy of the conqueror. Augustus received him very honourably, and generously pardoned him and all his followers. Thus having concluded the war in a few months, he returned in triumph to Rome, to receive new marks of adulation from the obsequious senate.

Antony, who during this interval was revelling in all the studied luxuries procured him by his insidious mistress, having heard of his brother's overthrow, and his wife's being compelled to leave Italy, was resolved to oppose Augustus without delay. He accordingly sailed, at the head of a considerable fleet, from Alexandria to Tyre; from thence to Cyprus and Rhodes, and had an interview with Fulvia, his wife, at Athens. He much blamed her for occasioning the late disorders; testified the utmost contempt for her person; and leaving her upon her death-bed at Sicyon, hastened into Italy to fight Augustus. They both met at Brundusium; and it was now thought that the flames of a civil war were going to blaze out once more. The forces of Antony were numerous, but mostly newly-raised; however, he was assisted by Sextus Pompeius, who, in these oppositions of interest, was daily coming into power. Augustus was at the head of those veterans who had always been irresistible, but who seemed no way disposed to fight against Antony, their former general. A negotiation was therefore proposed; and, by the activity of Cocceius, a friend

to both, a reconciliation was effected. All offences and affronts were mutually forgiven; and, to cement the union, a marriage was concluded between Antony and Octavia, the sister of Augustus. A new division of the Roman empire was made between them; Augustus was to have the command of the West; Antony of the East; while Lepidus was obliged to content himself with the provinces in Africa. As for Sextus Pompeius, he was permitted to retain all the islands he had already possessed, together with Peloponnesus: he was also granted the privilege of demanding the consulship in his absence, and of discharging that office by any of his friends. It was likewise stipulated to leave the sea open, and to pay the people what corn was due out of Sicily. Thus a general peace was concluded, to the great satisfaction of the people, who now expected a cessation from all their calamities.

This calm seemed to continue for some time. Antony led his forces against the Parthians, over whom his lieutenant, Ventidius, had gained some advantages. Augustus drew the greatest part of his army into Gaul, where there were some disturbances; and Pompey went to secure his newly-ceded province to his interest. It was in this quarter that fresh motives were given for renewing the war. Antony, who was obliged by treaty to quit Peloponnesus, refused to evacuate it till Pompey had satisfied him for such debts as were due to him from the inhabitants. This, Pompey would by no means comply with, but imme-

diately fitted out a new fleet, and renewed his former enterprises, by cutting off such corn and provisions as were consigned to Italy. Thus the grievances of the poor were again renewed; and the people began to complain, that, instead of three tyrants, they were now oppressed by four.

In this exigence, Augustus, who had long meditated the best means of diminishing the number, resolved to begin by getting rid of Pompey, who kept the state in continual alarms. He was master of two fleets; one, which he had caused to be built at Ravenna; and another, which Menodorus, who revolted from Pompey, brought to his aid. His first attempt was to invade Sicily; but being overpowered in his passage by Pompey, and afterwards shattered in a storm, he was obliged to defer his designs to the ensuing year. During this interval, he was reinforced by a noble fleet of one hundred and twenty ships, given him by Antony, with which he resolved once more to invade Sicily on three several quarters. But fortune seemed still determined to oppose him. He was a second time disabled and shattered by a storm; which so raised the vanity of Pompey, that he began to style himself the son of Neptune. However, Augustus was not to be intimidated by any disgraces; for, having shortly refitted his navy, and recruited his forces, he gave the command of both to Agrippa, his faithful friend and associate in war. Agrippa proved himself worthy of the trust reposed in him; he began his operations by a victory over Pompey; and, though he

was shortly after worsted himself, he soon after gave his adversary a complete and final overthrow. Thus undone, Pompey resolved to fly to Antony, from whom he expected refuge, as he had formerly obliged that triumvir by giving protection to his mother. However, a gleam of hope offering, he tried once more, at the head of a small body of men, to make himself independent, and even surprised Antony's lieutenants, who had been sent to accept of his submissions. Nevertheless, he was at last abandoned by his soldiers, and delivered up to Titus, Antony's lieutenant, who shortly after caused him to be slain.

The death of this general removed one very powerful obstacle to the ambition of Augustus; and he resolved to take the earliest opportunity to get rid of the rest of his associates. An offence was soon furnished by Lepidus, that served as a sufficient pretext for depriving him of his share in the triumvirate. Being now at the head of twenty-two legions, with a strong body of cavalry, he idly supposed that his present power was more than an equivalent to the popularity of Augustus. He therefore resolved upon adding Sicily, where he then was, to his province, pretending a right, as having first invaded it. Augustus sent to expostulate upon these proceedings; but Lepidus fiercely replied, "that he was "determined to have his share in the administra- "tion, and would no longer submit to let one a- "lone possess all the authority." Augustus was previously informed of the disposition of Lepidus's

soldiers; for he had, by his secret intrigues and largesses, entirely attached them to himself. Wherefore, without further delay, he with great boldness went alone to the camp of Lepidus, and with no other assistance than his private bounties, and the authority he had gained by his former victories, he resolved to depose his rival. The soldiers thronged round him with the most dutiful alacrity, while Lepidus hastened to prevent their defection. But Augustus, though he received a wound from one of the centurions, flew, with great presence of mind, to the place where the military ensigns were planted, and flourishing one of them in the air, all the legionary soldiers ran in crowds and saluted him as their general. Lepidus being thus abandoned by his men, divested himself of all the marks of his authority, which he could no longer keep, and submissively threw himself at the feet of Augustus. This general despised his colleague too much to take his life; he spared it, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the army, but deprived him of all his former authority, and banished him to Circæum. There he continued the rest of his life, despised by his friends, and to all a melancholy object of blasted ambition.

Augustus was received, upon his return to Rome, with universal joy; the senators met him at the gates, and conducted him to the Capitol: the people followed, crowned with garlands of flowers; and, after having returned thanks to the gods, waited upon him to his palace. There

remained now but one obstacle to his ambition, which was Antony, whom he resolved to remove, and for that purpose began to render his character as contemptible as he possibly could at Rome. In fact, Antony's conduct did not a little contribute to promote the endeavours of his ambitious partner in the state. He had marched against the Parthians with a prodigious army, but was forced to return with the loss of the fourth part of his forces and all his baggage. This extremely diminished his reputation: but his making a triumphal entry into Alexandria soon after, entirely disgusted the citizens of Rome. However, Antony seemed quite regardless of their resentment: alive only to pleasure, and totally disregarding the business of the state, he spent whole days and nights in the company of Cleopatra, who studied every art to increase his passion, and vary his entertainments. Few women have been so much celebrated for the art of giving novelty to pleasure, and making trifles important: still ingenious in filling up the languid pauses of sensual delight with some new stroke of refinement, she was at one time a queen, then a Bacchanal, and sometimes a huntress. She invented a society called, The Inimitable; and those of the court who made the most sumptuous entertainments, carried away the prize. Not contented with sharing in her company all the delights which Egypt could afford, Antony was resolved to enlarge his sphere of luxury, by granting her many of those kingdoms which belonged to the

Roman empire. He gave her all Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, and Cyprus, with a great part of Cilicia, Arabia, and Judæa; gifts which he had no right to bestow, but which he pretended to grant in imitation of Hercules. This complication of vice and folly at last totally exasperated the Romans; and Augustus, willing to take the advantage of their resentment, took care to exaggerate all his defects. At length, when he found the people sufficiently irritated against him, he resolved to send Octavia, who was then at Rome, to Antony, as if with a view of reclaiming her husband; but, in fact, to furnish a sufficient pretext of declaring war against him, as he knew she would be dismissed with contempt.

Antony was now at the city of Leucopolis, revelling with his insidious paramour, when he heard that Octavia was at Athens, upon her journey to visit him. This was very unwelcome news, as well to him as to Cleopatra; who, fearing the charms of her rival, endeavoured to convince Antony of the strength of her passion by her sighs, languishing looks, and well-feigned melancholy. He frequently caught her in tears, which she seemed as if willing to hide; and often entreated her to tell him the cause, which she seemed willing to suppress. These artifices, together with the ceaseless flattery and importunity of her creatures, prevailed so much upon Antony's weakness, that he commanded Octavia to return home without seeing her, and attached himself still more closely to Cleopatra than

before. His ridiculous passion now began to have no bounds. He resolved to own her for his wife, and entirely to repudiate Octavia. He accordingly assembled the people of Alexandria in the public theatre, where was raised an alcove of silver, under which were placed two thrones of gold, one for himself and the other for Cleopatra. There he seated himself, dressed like Bacchus, while Cleopatra sat beside him clothed in the ornaments and attributes of Isis, the principal deity of the Egyptians. On that occasion he declared her queen of all the countries which he had already bestowed upon her; while he associated Cæsario, her son by Cæsar, as her partner in the government. To the two children which he had by her himself, he gave the title of king of kings, with very extensive dominions; and to crown his absurdities, he next sent a minute account of his proceedings to the two consuls at Rome. One folly is generally the parent of many more. As he became a god, it was now necessary to act up to his imaginary dignity; new luxuries and pageantries were now therefore studied, and new modes of profusion found out; no less than sixty thousand pounds of our money was lavished upon one single entertainment: it is said, upon this occasion, that Cleopatra dissolved a pearl of great value in vinegar, and drank it off. Yet, however high-wrought their entertainments might be, they wanted that delicacy which gives the finest relish to all sensual happiness. Antony, as we are told, was but a coarse and inelegant

soldier, who mistook obscenity for wit, and profusion for magnificence. Cleopatra, who was naturally more refined, was yet obliged to comply with his disposition, and to bear with his debaucheries, rather than share them. But we are told of one circumstance that might well repress their delights, and teach mankind to relish the beverage of virtue, however simple, above their most zested enjoyments. He was suspicious of being poisoned in every meal; he feared Cleopatra, whom he so much loved, and would eat nothing without having it previously tasted by one of his attendants.

In the mean time Augustus had now a sufficient pretext for declaring war, and informed the senate of his intentions. However, he deferred the execution of his design for a while, being then employed in quelling an insurrection of the Illyrians. The following year was chiefly taken up in preparations against Antony, who, perceiving his design, remonstrated to the senate, that he had many causes of complaint against his colleague, who had seized upon Sicily without affording him a share; alleging that he had also dispossessed Lepidus, and kept to himself the province he had commanded; and that he had divided all Italy among his own soldiers, leaving nothing to recompence those in Asia. To this complaint Augustus was contented to make a sarcastic answer, implying, that it was absurd to complain of his distribution of a few trifling districts in Italy, when Antony having con-

quered Parthia, he might now reward his soldiers with cities and provinces. The sarcasm upon Antony's misfortunes in Parthia so provoked him, that he ordered Canidius, who commanded his army, to march without intermission into Europe; while he and Cleopatra followed to Samos, in order to prepare for carrying on the war with vigour. When arrived there, it was ridiculous enough to behold the odd mixture of preparations for pleasure and for war. On one side, all the kings and princes from Egypt to the Euxine sea, had orders to send him thither supplies both of men, provisions, and arms; on the other side, all the comedians, dancers, buffoons, and musicians of Greece, were ordered to attend him. Thus, frequently, when a ship was thought to arrive laden with soldiers, arms, and ammunition, it was found only filled with players and theatrical machinery. When news was expected of the approach of an army, messengers only arrived with tidings of a fresh quantity of venison. In this manner he laboured to unite incompatible pursuits: the kings who attended him endeavoured to gain his favour more by their entertainments, than their warlike preparations: the provinces strove rather to please him by sacrificing to his divinity, than by their alacrity in his defence; so that some were heard to say, "What rejoicings would not this man make for "a victory, when he thus triumphs at the eve of "a dangerous war!" In short, his best friends now began to forsake his interests, which is

generally the case with all those who first forsake themselves.

His delay at Samos, and afterwards at Athens, where he carried Cleopatra to receive new honours, was extremely favourable to the arms of Augustus. This general was, at first, scarcely in a disposition to oppose him, had he gone into Italy; but he soon found time to put himself in a condition for carrying on the war; and, shortly after, declared it against him in form. All Antony's followers were invited over to join him, with great promises of rewards; but they were not declared enemies, partly to prevent their growing desperate, and partly to give a show of moderation to his own party. At length, both sides found themselves in readiness to begin the war, and their armies were answerable to the empire they contended for. The one was followed by all the forces of the East; the other drew all the strength of the West to support his pretensions. Antony's force composed a body of a hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse; while his fleet amounted to five hundred ships of war. The army of Augustus mustered but eighty thousand foot, but equalled his adversary's in his number of cavalry: his fleet was but half as numerous as Antony's; however, his ships were better built, and manned with better soldiers. Such forces on both sides may excite our wonder, but not our interest: neither had a good cause to support, the contention of

both being only like that of two robbers who quarrel in the division of their plunder.

The great decisive engagement, which was a naval one, was fought near Actium, a city of Epirus, at the entrance of the gulf of Ambracia. Antony ranged his ships before the mouth of the gulf; and Augustus drew up his fleet in opposition. Neither general assumed any fixed station to command in, but went about from ship to ship, wherever his presence was necessary. In the mean time, the two land armies, on opposite sides of the gulf, were drawn up, only as spectators of the engagement; and encouraged their fleets, by their shouts, to engage. The battle began, on both sides, with great ardour; and after a manner not practised upon former occasions. The prows of their vessels were armed with brazen points; and with these they drove furiously against each other. In this conflict, the ships of Antony came with greater force, but those of Augustus avoided the shock with greater dexterity. On Antony's side, the sterns of the ships were raised in form of a tower; from whence they threw arrows from machines for that purpose. Those of Augustus made use of long poles hooked with iron, and fire posts. They fought in this manner for some time, with equal animosity; nor was there any advantage on either side, except a small appearance of disorder in the centre of Antony's fleet. But all of a sudden, Cleopatra determined the fortune of the day. She was seen flying from the engagement,

attended by sixty sail; struck, perhaps, with the terrors natural to her sex: but what increased the general amazement, was, to behold Antony himself following soon after, and leaving his fleet at the mercy of the conquerors. The engagement, notwithstanding, continued with great obstinacy till five in the evening; when Antony's forces, partly constrained by the conduct of Agrippa, and partly persuaded by the promises of Augustus, submitted to the conqueror. The land forces soon after followed the example of the navy; and all yielded to Augustus without striking a blow, the fourth day after the battle.

When Cleopatra fled, Antony pursued her in a five-oared galley; and, coming along side of her ship, entered it without seeing or being seen by her. She was in the stern, and he went to the prow, where he remained for some time silent, holding his head between his hands. In this manner he continued three whole days, during which, either through indignation or shame, he neither saw nor spoke to Cleopatra. At last, when they were arrived at the promontory of Tenarus, the queen's female attendants reconciled them, and every thing went on as before. Still, however, he had the consolation to suppose his army continued faithful to him, and accordingly dispatched orders to his lieutenant Canidius, to conduct it into Asia. However, he was soon undeceived when he arrived in Africa, where he was informed of their submission to his rival. This account so transported him with rage, that

he was hardly prevented from killing himself; but at length, at the entreaty of his friends, he returned to Alexandria, in a very different situation from that in which he had left it some time before. Cleopatra, however, seemed to retain that fortitude in her misfortunes, which had utterly abandoned her admirer. Having amassed considerable riches by means of confiscations and other acts of violence, she formed a very singular and unheard-of project; this was to convey her whole fleet over the isthmus of Suez into the Red Sea, and thereby save herself in another region, beyond the reach of Rome, with all her treasures. Some of her vessels were actually transported thither, pursuant to her orders: but the Arabians having burnt them, and Antony dissuading her from the design, she abandoned it for the more improbable scheme of defending Egypt against the conqueror. She omitted nothing in her power to put this advice in practice, and made all kinds of preparations for war; at least hoping thereby to obtain better terms from Augustus. In fact, she had always loved Antony's fortunes rather than his person; and if she could have fallen upon any method of saving herself, though even at his expence, there is no doubt but she would have embraced it with gladness. She even still had some hopes from the power of her charms, though she was arrived almost at the age of forty; and was desirous of trying upon Augustus those arts which had been so successful with the greatest men of Rome.

Thus, in three embassies which were sent, one after another, from Antony to Augustus in Asia, the queen had always her secret agents, charged with particular proposals in her name. Antony desired no more than that his life might be spared, and to have the liberty of passing the remainder of his days in obscurity. To those proposals Augustus made no reply. Cleopatra sent him also public proposals in favour of her children; but at the same time privately resigned him her crown, with all the ensigns of royalty. To the queen's public proposal, no answer was given: to her private offer he replied, by giving her assurances of his favour, in case she sent away Antony, or put him to death. These negotiations were not so private but they came to the knowledge of Antony, whose jealousy and rage every occurrence now contributed to heighten. He built a small solitary house upon a mole in the sea, and there shut himself up, a prey to all those passions that are the tormentors of unsuccessful tyranny. There he passed his time, shunning all commerce with mankind, and professing to imitate Timon the man-hater. However, his furious jealousy drove him even from this retreat into society; for hearing that Cleopatra had many secret conferences with one Thyrsus, an emissary from Augustus, he seized upon him, and having ordered him to be cruelly scourged, he sent him back to his patron. At the same time he sent letters by him, importing that he had chastised Thyrsus for insulting a man in misfortunes; but

withal he gave Augustus permission to avenge himself, by scourging Hipparchus, Antony's freed-man, in the same manner. The revenge, in this case, would have been highly pleasing to Antony, as Hipparchus had left him, to join the fortunes of his more successful rival.

Mean while the operations of the war were carried vigorously forward, and Egypt was once more the theatre of the contending armies of Rome. Gallus, the lieutenant of Augustus, took Paretonium, which opened the whole country to his incursions. On the other side, Antony, who had still considerable forces by sea and land, wanted to take that important place from the enemy. He therefore marched towards it, flattering himself, that as soon as he should show himself to the legions which he had once commanded, the affection for their ancient general would revive. He approached therefore, and exhorted them to remember their former vows of fidelity. Gallus, however, ordered all the trumpets to sound, in order to hinder Antony from being heard, so that he was obliged to retire.

Augustus himself was in the mean time advancing with another army before Pelusium, which, by its strong situation, might have retarded his progress for some time. But the governor of the city, either wanting courage to defend it, or previously instructed by Cleopatra to give it up, permitted him to take possession of the place; so that Augustus had now no obstacle in

his way to Alexandria, whither he marched with all expedition. Antony, upon his arrival, sallied out to oppose him, fighting with great desperation, and putting the enemy's cavalry to flight. This slight advantage once more revived his declining hopes; and being naturally vain, he re-entered Alexandria in triumph. Then going, all armed as he was, to the palace, he embraced Cleopatra, and presented her a soldier who had distinguished himself in the late engagement. The queen rewarded him very magnificently; presenting him with a head-piece and breast-plate of gold. With these, however, the soldier went off the next night to the other army, prudently resolving to secure his riches, by keeping on the strongest side. Antony could not bear this defection without fresh indignation; he resolved, therefore, to make a bold expiring effort by sea and land, but previously offered to fight his adversary in single combat. Augustus too well knew the inequality of their situations to comply with this forlorn offer; he only, therefore, coolly replied, That Antony had ways enough to die besides single combat.

The evening before the day appointed for his last desperate attempt, he ordered a grand entertainment to be prepared. "Give me good wine, "and good cheer," cried he to his friends; "let "me live to-day; to-morrow, perhaps, you may "serve another master." About midnight, as Plutarch relates, while a melancholy silence reigned throughout the city, a noise of voices,

instruments, and dancing, was heard, as if passing through the town, and seeming to go out at the gate which looked towards the enemy. At day-break, Antony posted the few troops he had remaining, upon a rising ground near the city; from whence he sent orders to his galleys to engage the enemy. There he waited to be a spectator of the combat; and, at first, he had the satisfaction to see them advance in good order; but his approbation was soon turned into rage, when he saw his ships only saluting those of Augustus, and both fleets uniting together, and sailing back into the harbour. At the very same time, his cavalry deserted him. He tried, however, to lead on his infantry, which were easily vanquished; and he himself compelled to return into the town. His anger was now ungovernable; he could not help crying out aloud as he passed, that he was betrayed by Cleopatra, and delivered by her to those who, for her sake alone, were his enemies. In these suspicions he was not deceived, for it was by secret orders from the queen that the fleet had passed over to the enemy.

Cleopatra had, for a long while, dreaded the effects of Antony's jealousy; and had, some time before, prepared a method of obviating any sudden sallies it might produce. Near the temple of Isis, she had erected a building, which was seemingly designed for a sepulchre. Hither she removed all her treasure and most valuable effects, covering them over with torches, faggots, and

other combustible matter. This sepulchre she designed to answer a double purpose; as well to screen her from the sudden resentments of Antony, as to make Augustus believe that she would burn all her treasures, in case he refused her proper terms of capitulation. Here, therefore, she retired from Antony's present fury; shutting the gates, which were fortified with bolts and bars of iron: but, in the mean time, gave orders that a report should be spread of her death. This news, which soon reached Antony, recalled all his former love and tenderness. This poor wretch was now a being subject to the gust of every passion, and each of them in extreme. He now lamented her death with the same violence he had but a few minutes before seemed to desire it. "Wretched man," cried he to himself, "what is there now worth living for: since "all that could soothe or soften my cares is de-"parted? O Cleopatra," continued he, being got to his chamber, "our separation does not so "much afflict me, as the disgrace I suffer, in "permitting a woman to instruct me in the ways "of dying." He then called one of his freedmen, named Eros, whom he had engaged by oath to kill him, whenever fortune should drive him to this last resource. Eros being now commanded to perform his promise, this faithful follower drew the sword, as if going to execute his orders; but turning his face, plunged it into his own bosom, and died at his master's feet. Antony for a while hung over his faithful servant,

and commending his fidelity, took up the sword, with which stabbing himself in the belly, he fell backward upon a little couch. Though the wound was mortal, yet the blood stopping, he recovered his spirits, and earnestly conjured those who were come into the room, to put an end to his life; but they all fled, being seized with fright and horror. He therefore continued in this manner for some time, still crying out and writhing with pain, till he was informed by one of the queen's secretaries that his mistress was still alive. He then earnestly desired to be carried to the place where she was. They accordingly brought him to the gate of the sepulchre; but Cleopatra, who would not permit it to be opened, appeared at the window, and threw down cords in order to pull him up. In this manner, assisted by her two female attendants, she raised him all bloody from the ground; and while yet suspended in the air, he continued stretching out his hands to encourage her. Cleopatra and her maids had only just strength sufficient to raise him; and at last, with much straining, they effected their purpose, and carried him to a couch, on which they gently laid him. There she gave way to her sorrow, tearing her clothes, beating her breast, and kissing the wound of which he was dying. She called upon him as her lord, her husband, her emperor, and seemed to have forgotten her own distresses in the greatness of his sufferings. Antony entreated her to moderate the transports of her grief, and asked for some

wine, either because he was thirsty, or because he thought it would hasten his end: after he had drank, he entreated Cleopatra to endeavour to preserve her life, if she could do it with honour; and recommended Proculus, a friend of Augustus, as one she might rely on to be her intercessor. He exhorted her not to lament for his misfortunes, but to congratulate him upon his former felicity, to consider him as one who had lived the most powerful of men, and at last died by the hand of a Roman. Just as he had done speaking he expired; and Proculus made his appearance by command of Augustus, who had been informed of Antony's desperate conduct. He was sent to try all means of getting Cleopatra into his power; Augustus having a double motive for his solicitude on this occasion: one to prevent her destroying the treasures she had taken with her into the tomb; the other, to preserve her person as an ornament to grace his triumph. Cleopatra, however, was upon her guard, and would not confer with Proculus, except through the gate, which was very well secured. In the mean time, while he designedly drew out the conference to some length, and had given Gallus, one of his fellow-soldiers, directions to carry on the conversation in his absence, he entered with two more by the window at which Antony had been drawn up. As soon as he was entered, he ran down to the gate; and one of the women crying out that they were taken alive, Cleopatra, perceiving what had happened, drew a poignard, and

attempted to stab herself: but Proculus preventing the blow, gently remonstrated, that she was cruel in refusing so good a prince as his master was, the pleasure of displaying his clemency. He then forced the poignard out of her hand, and examined her clothes to be certain she had no poison about her. Thus leaving every thing secured, he went to acquaint his master with his proceedings.

Augustus was extremely pleased at finding her in his power: he sent Epaphroditus to bring her to his palace, and to watch her with the utmost circumspection. He was likewise ordered to use her, in every respect, with that deference and submission which was due to her rank; and to do every thing in his power to render her captivity agreeable. She was permitted to have the honour of granting Antony the rites of burial; and furnished with every thing she desired, that was becoming his dignity to receive, or her love to offer. Yet still she languished under her new confinement: her excessive sorrow, her many losses, and the blows she had given her bosom, produced a fever which she seemed willing to increase. She resolved to abstain from taking any nourishment, under the pretence of a regimen necessary for her disorder; but Augustus, being made acquainted with the real motive by her physician, began to threaten her with regard to her children, in case she persisted. This was the only punishment that could now

affect her; she allowed herself to be treated as they thought proper, and received whatever was prescribed for her recovery.

In the mean time, Augustus made his entry into Alexandria; taking care to mitigate the fears of the inabitants, by conversing familiarly, as he went along, with Areus, a philosopher, and a native of the place. The citizens, however, trembled at his approach; and when he placed himself upon the tribunal, they prostrated themselves, with their faces to the ground, before him, like criminals who waited the sentence of their execution. Augustus presently ordered them to rise, telling them, that three motives induced him to pardon them:—his respect for Alexander, who was the founder of their city; his admiration of its beauty; and his friendship for Areus, their fellow-citizen. Two only of particular note were put to death upon this occasion; Antony's eldest son Antyllus, and Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar, both betrayed into his hands by their respective tutors, who themselves suffered for their perfidy shortly after. As for the rest of Cleopatra's children, he treated them with great gentleness, leaving them to the care of those who were intrusted with their education, who had orders to provide them with every thing suitable to their birth. As for her, when she was recovered from her late indisposition, he came to visit her in person; she received him lying on a couch, in a careless manner; and, upon his entering the apartment, rose up to prostrate her-

self before him. She was dressed in nothing but a loose robe. Her misfortunes had given an air of severity to her features: her hair was dishevelled, her voice trembling, her complexion pale, and her eyes red with weeping. Yet, still her natural beauty seemed to gleam through the distresses that surrounded her; and the graces of her motion, and the alluring softness of her looks, still bore testimony to the former power of her charms. Augustus raised her with his usual complaisance, and desiring her to sit, placed himself beside her. Cleopatra had been prepared for this interview, and made use of every method she could think of to propitiate the conqueror. She tried apologies, entreaties, and allurements, to obtain his favour, and soften his resentment. She began by attempting to justify her conduct; but when her art and skill failed against manifest proofs, she turned her defence into supplications. She talked of Cæsar's humanity to those in distress; she read some of his letters to her, full of tenderness, and enlarged upon the long intimacy that had passed between them. "But "of what service," cried she, "are now all his "benefits to me! Why could I not die with him! "Yet he still lives; methinks I see him still be- "fore me—he revives in you." Augustus was no stranger to this method of address; but he remained firm against all attacks, answering always with a cold indifference, which obliged her to give her attempts a different turn. She now addressed his avarice, presenting him with an

inventory of her treasure and jewels. This gave occasion to a very singular scene, which shows that the little decorums of breeding were then by no means so carefully attended to as at present. One of her stewards having alleged that the inventory was defective, and that she had secreted a part of her effects, she fell into a violent passion, started from her couch, and catching him by the hair, gave him several blows on the face. Augustus smiled at her indignation, and leading her to the couch, desired her to be pacified. To this she replied, that she could not bear being insulted in the presence of one whom she so highly esteemed. "And supposing," cried she, "that I have secreted a few trifles, am "I to blame, when they are reserved, not for my-"self, but for Livia and Octavia, whom I hope "to make my intercessors with you?" This excuse, which intimated a desire of living, was not disagreeable to Augustus; who politely assured her, that she was at liberty to keep whatever she had reserved, and that in every thing she should be indulged to the height of her expectations. He then took leave, and departed; imagining he had reconciled her to life, and to the indignity of being shown in the intended triumph which he was preparing for on his return to Rome: but in this he was deceived. Cleopatra, all this time, had kept a correspondence with Dolabella, a young Roman of high birth, in the camp of Augustus; who, perhaps from compassion, or stronger motives, was interested in the misfor-

tunes of that princess. From him she learned the intentions of Augustus, and that he was determined so send her off in three days, together with her children, to Rome. She now, therefore, determined upon dying; but previously entreated permission to pay her last oblations at Antony's tomb. This request being granted her, she was carried, with her two female attendants, to the stately monument where he was laid. There she threw herself upon his coffin, bewailed her captivity, and renewed her protestations not to survive him. She then crowned the tomb with garlands of flowers; and having kissed the coffin a thousand times, she returned home to execute her fatal resolution. Having bathed, and ordered a sumptuous banquet, she attired herself in the most splendid manner. She then feasted as usual; and soon after ordered all but her two attendants, Charmian and Iras, to leave the room. Then, having previously ordered an asp to be secretly conveyed to her in a basket of fruit, she sent a letter to Augustus, informing him of her fatal purpose, and desiring to be buried in the same tomb with Antony. Augustus, upon receiving this letter, instantly dispatched messengers to stop her intentions, but they arrived too late. Upon entering the chamber, they beheld Cleopatra lying dead upon a gilded couch, arrayed in her royal robes. Near her, Iras, one of her faithful attendants, was stretched lifeless at the feet of her mistress; and Charmian herself, almost expiring, was settling the diadem upon

Cleopatra's head. "Alas!" cried one of the messengers, "was this well done, Charmian?" "Yes," replied she, "it is well done; such a "death becomes a glorious queen, descended "from a race of noble ancestors." On pronouncing these words, she fell down, and died with her much-loved mistress. There are some circumstances in the death of this celebrated woman, that interest our affections, contrary to the dictates of our reason. Though with scarce any valuable talent but that of cunning, and scarce any other ornament but that of beauty, yet we pity her fate, and sympathize with her distresses. She died at the age of thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two years. Her death put an end to the monarchy in Egypt, which had flourished there for immemorial ages.

Augustus seemed much troubled at Cleopatra's death, as it deprived him of a principal ornament in his intended triumph. However, the manner of it a good deal exalted her character among the Romans, with whom suicide was considered as a virtue. Her dying request was complied with, her body being laid by Antony's, and a magnificent funeral prepared for her and her two faithful attendants. By the death of Antony, Augustus was now become complete master of the Roman empire. He soon after returned to Rome in triumph; where by sumptuous feasts and magnificent shows, he began to obliterate the impressions of his former cruelty; and from thenceforward resolved to secure by his

clemency, a throne, the foundations of which were laid in blood. He was now at the head of the most extensive empire that mankind had ever concurred in obeying. The former spirit of the Romans, and those characteristic marks that distinguished them from others, were totally lost. The city was now inhabited by a concourse from all the countries of the world; and being consequently divested of all just patriotic principles, perhaps a monarchy was the best form of government that could be found to unite its members. However, it is very remarkable, that during these long contentions among themselves, and these horrid devastations by civil war, the state was daily growing more formidable and powerful, and completed the destruction of all the kings who presumed to oppose it. A modern politician* pretends to prove, upon principle, that this must be the case in every state long harassed by civil war. "In such a season," says he, "the nobility, the citizens, the artisans, the "peasants, in short, the whole body of the people, become soldiers; and when peace has "united all the contending parties, this state "enjoys great advantages over others, whose "subjects are generally citizens. Besides, civil "wars always produce great men; as then is the "season when merit is sought for, and talents "become conspicuous." However this may be, there never was a time when Rome was so mag-

* Montesquieu.

nificent, so populous, and so refined. The empire was now brought very near its utmost extent. It contained in Europe, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Greece, Illyricum, Dacia, Pannonia, Britain, and some part of Germany: in Asia, all those provinces which went under the name of Asia Minor; together with Armenia, Syria, Judea, Mesopotamia, and Media: in Africa, almost all those parts of it which were then supposed habitable; namely, Egypt, Numidia, Mauritania, and Libya; the whole of their empire comprising an extent of between three and four thousand miles in length, and half as much in breadth. As to the yearly revenues of the empire, they have been computed at about forty millions of our money. The number of the citizens amounted to four millions and sixty-three thousand men, women, and children; a number at least four times greater than that of London, at present the most populous city in the world. As to the improvements in polite learning, they exceeded all that preceded them, and have never since been equalled. Besides Virgil, and Horace, and Ovid, poets, whose names it is sufficient to mention; Livy, the historian, graced this period; a writer whose works are as much superior to those of any other historian, as the actions he undertook to record were greater. Without either pedantry or affectation, it may be said, that none have ever been comparable to him; and, in whatever point of view his books may be considered, whether in point of

accuracy, eloquence, or vigour of imagination, he has set mankind a model of the grandest subject, treated in the most becoming manner.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL.

CHAPTER III.

From the Death of Antony to the Death of Augustus.

The government having now taken a permanent form, it is not to be supposed that history can teem with such striking events, as during that period in which the constitution was struggling for freedom. But a dearth of historical occurrences is generally the happiness of the people. In fact, Rome never enjoyed an interval of so much prosperity as during the continuance of the reign of Augustus. From the moment he wanted a rival, he gave up his cruelty; and, being entirely without an opposer, he seemed totally divested of suspicion. His first care was to assure himself of the friends of Antony; to which end he publicly reported that he had burnt all Antony's letters and papers without reading, convinced that, while any thought themselves suspected, they would be fearful of even offering him their friendship. His next stroke of politics was to establish order, or rather permanent servitude; for, when once

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the sovereignty is usurped in a free state, every transaction on which an unlimited authority can be founded, is called a regulation: however, as the greatest number of those that raise their fortunes assume new titles to authorize their power, Augustus resolved to conceal his new power under usual names and ordinary dignities. He caused himself to be styled emperor, to preserve authority over the army; he made himself to be created tribune, to manage the people; and prince of the senate, to govern there. Thus uniting in his own person so many different powers, he charged himself also with the cares belonging to each separate department; and while he did the greatest good to others, fully gratified his ambition in the discharge of his duty. In this manner the people's interest and his ambition seemed to co-operate; and while he governed all, he let them imagine that they were governing themselves.

For this purpose, as he had gained the kingdom by his army, he resolved to govern it by the senate. This body, though greatly fallen from their ancient splendour, he knew to be the best ordered, and most capable of wisdom and justice. To these, therefore, he gave the chief power in the administration of his government, while he still kept the people and the army steadfast to him by donatives and acts of favour. By these means all the odium of justice fell upon the senate, and all the popularity of pardon was solely his own. Thus restoring to the senate

their ancient splendour, and discountenancing all corruption, he pretended to reserve to himself a very moderate share of authority, which none could refuse him; namely, an absolute power to compel all ranks of the state to do their duty. This, in fact, was reserving absolute dominion in his own hands; but the misguided people began to look upon his moderation with astonishment: they considered themselves as restored to their former freedom, except in the capacity of promoting sedition; and the senate supposed their power re-established in all things but their tendency to injustice. It was even said that the Romans, by such a government, lost nothing of the happiness that liberty could produce; and were exempt from all the misfortunes it could occasion. This observation might have some truth under such a monarch as Augustus now appeared to be; but they were taught to change their sentiments under his successors, when they found themselves afflicted with all the punishments that tyranny could inflict or sedition make necessary.

After having established this admirable order, Augustus found himself agitated by different inclinations; and considered a long time whether he should keep the empire, or restore the people to their ancient liberty. The examples of Sylla and Cæsar variously operated upon him. He considered that Sylla, who had voluntarily quitted the dictatorship, died peaceably in the midst of his enemies: and Cæsar, who had kept

it, was assassinated by his most intimate friends, who gloried in the action. Struggling with this troublesome uncertainty, he discovered the disorder of his mind to his two principal friends, Agrippa and Mæcenas. Agrippa, who had gained him the empire by his valour, advised him to resign it; either impelled by patriotism, or a desire to seize upon what should be thus laid down. Mæcenas, however, was of a contrary opinion. This minister, so famous for patronizing the men of genius of his time, had much merit, but was effeminate and tender. More an admirer of the useful than the splendid virtues, he was better satisfied with what benefited the people than raised their admiration: besides, he might have been influenced by self-interested motives in the advice he gave; for being more capable of advising than of acting, and entirely formed for the cabinet, he hoped to obtain those honours from a master which he could not force from the people, with whom he must have raised himself by his own proper powers, and acted with vigorous independence. He, therefore, entreated Augustus to consider rather what was advantageous to his country, than alluring to himself: he likened the republic to a ship fraught with passengers, but totally destitute of a pilot: he considered it as now grown almost a wreck, though safely brought into harbour, and in the utmost danger of sinking, if once more pushed off from shore. He described the empire as now too great and unwieldy to subsist

without the most vigorous master, and likely to fall into pieces under a variety of rulers. To these he added a dissuasive, perhaps still more prevailing; namely, the safety of the emperor, which nothing but his present authority could secure. Those reasons prevailed upon a mind already too well inclined to preserve that power which it had so hardly laboured to obtain. From that time Augustus adopted the advice of Mæcenas, not only in this instance, but on every other occasion. By the instructions of that great minister, he became gentle, affable, and humane. By his advice it was, that he set a resolution of never being concerned at what was said against him. However, in order to avoid obloquy as much as possible, he encouraged men of learning, and gave them much of his time and his friendship. They in their turn relieved his most anxious hours, and circulated his praise through the empire.

Thus having given peace and happiness to the empire, and being convinced of the attachment of all the orders of the state to his person, he resolved upon impressing the people with an idea of his magnanimity also. This was nothing less than making a show of resigning his authority; wherefore, having previously instructed his creatures in the senate how to act, he addressed them in a studied speech, importing the difficulty of governing so extensive an empire; a task which, he said, none but the immortal Gods were equal to. He modestly urged his own in-

ability, though impelled by every motive to undertake it; and then, with a degree of seeming generosity, freely gave up all that power, which, as he observed, his arms had gained, and the senate had confirmed. This power he repeatedly offered to restore, giving them to understand that the true spirit of the Romans was not lost in him. This speech operated upon the senate variously, as they were more or less in the secret: many believed the sincerity of his professions, and, therefore, regarded his conduct as an act of heroism unequalled by any thing that had hitherto appeared in Rome; others, equally ignorant of his motives, distrusted his designs. Some there were who, having greatly suffered during the late popular commotions, were fearful of having them renewed; but the majority, who were entirely devoted to his interests, and instructed by his ministers, frequently attempted to interrupt him while speaking, and received his proposal with pretended indignation. These unanimously besought him not to resign his administration; but upon his continuing to decline their request, they in a manner compelled him to comply. However, that his person might be in greater security, they immediately decreed the pay of his guard to be doubled. On the other hand, that he might seem to make some concessions on his side, he permitted the senate to govern the weak internal provinces of the empire, while the most powerful provinces, and those that required the greatest armies for their defence, were taken en-

tirely under his own command. Over these he assumed the government but for ten years, leaving the people still in hopes of regaining their ancient freedom; but, at the same time, laying his measures so well, that his government was renewed every ten years to his death.

This show of a resignation only served to confirm him in the empire and the hearts of the people. New honours were heaped upon him. He was then first called Augustus; a name I have hitherto used, as that by which he is best known in history. A laurel was ordered to be planted at his gates. His house was called the palace, to distinguish it from that of ordinary citizens. He was confirmed in the title of father of his country, and his person declared sacred and inviolable. In short, flattery seemed on the rack to find out new modes of pleasing him; but, though he despised the arts of the senate, he permitted their homage, well knowing that, among mankind, titles produce a respect which enforces authority.

Upon entering into his tenth consulship, the senate, by oath, approved of all his acts, and set him wholly above the power of the laws. They some time after offered to swear not only to all the laws he had made, but such as he should make for the future. It was then customary with fathers upon their death-beds, to command their children to carry oblations to the Capitol, with this inscription, That at the day of their deaths they left Augustus in health. It was determined

that no man should be put to death on such days as the emperor entered the city. Upon a dearth of provisions, the people in a body entreated him to accept of the dictatorship; but, though he undertook to be procurator of the provisions, he would by no means accept of the title of dictator, which had been abolished by a law made when Antony was consul.

This accumulation of titles and employments did not in the least diminish his assiduity in filling the duties of each. Several very wholesome edicts were passed by his command, tending to suppress corruption in the senate, and licentiousness in the people. He ordained that none should exhibit a show of gladiators without orders from the senate, and then no oftener than twice a year: nor with more than a hundred and twenty at a time. This law was extremely necessary at so corrupt a period of the empire; when whole armies of these unfortunate men were brought at once upon the stage, and compelled to fight, often till half of them were slain. It had been usual also with the knights, and some women of the first distinction, to exhibit themselves as dancers upon the theatre; he ordered that not only they, but their children and grand-children, should be restrained from such exercises for the future. He fined many that had refused to marry at a certain age, and rewarded such as had many children. He ordained that virgins should not be married till twelve years of age; and permitted any person

to kill an adulterer taken in the fact. He enacted that the senators should be always held in great reverence; adding to their authority what he had taken from their power. He made a law that no man should have the freedom of the city without a previous examination into his merit and character. He appointed new rules and limits to the manumission of slaves; and was himself very strict in the observance of them. With regard to players, of whom he was very fond, he severely examined their morals, not allowing the least licentiousness in their lives, nor indecency in their actions. Though he encouraged the athletic exercises, yet he would not permit women to be present at them; holding it unbecoming the modesty of the sex, to be spectators of these sports, which were performed by naked men. In order to prevent bribery in suing for offices, he took considerable sums of money from the candidates, by way of pledge; and if any indirect practices were proved against them, they were obliged to forfeit all. Slaves had been hitherto disallowed to confess any thing against their own masters; but he abolished the practice, and first sold the slave to another; which altering the property, his examination became free. These, and many other laws, all tending to reform vice, or deter from crimes, gave the manners of the people another complexion; so that the rough character of the Roman was now softened into that of the refined citizen.

Indeed his own example a good deal tended to humanize his fellow-citizens; for being placed above all equality, he had nothing to fear from condescension: wherefore he was familiar with all, and suffered himself to be reprimanded with the most patient humility. Though he was by the single authority of his station, capable of condemning or acquitting whomsoever he thought proper, yet he gave the laws their proper course; and even sometimes pleaded for those he desired to protect. Thus Primus, the governor of Macedonia, having a day assigned him for having made war upon the Odrisii, a neighbouring state, as he said, by the command of Augustus, the latter denied the charge. Upon which the advocate for Primus desired to know, with an insolent air, what brought Augustus into court, or who had sent for him? To this the emperor submissively replied, "The commonwealth;" an answer which greatly pleased the people. Upon another occasion, one of his veteran soldiers entreated his protection in a certain cause; but Augustus, taking little notice of his request, desired him to apply to an advocate. "Ah!" replied the soldier, "it was not by proxy that I "served you at the battle of Actium." This reply pleased Augustus so much, that he pleaded his cause in person, and gained it for him. He was extremely affable, and returned the salutations of the meanest persons. One day a person presented him a petition, but with so much awe, that Augustus was displeased with his meanness.

"What, friend," cried he, "you seem as if you "were offering something to an elephant, and "not to man: be bolder." One day, as he was sitting on the tribunal in judgment, Mæcenas perceiving by his temper, that he was inclined to be severe, attempted to speak to him; but not being able to get up to the tribunal for the crowd, he threw a paper into his lap, on which was written, "Arise, executioner." Augustus read it without any displeasure, and immediately rising, pardoned those whom he was disposed to condemn. But what most of all showed a total alteration in his disposition, was his treatment of Cornelius Cinna, Pompey's grandson. This nobleman had entered into a very dangerous conspiracy against him; but the plot was discovered before it was ripe for execution. Augustus, for some time, debated with himself how to act; but, at last, his clemency prevailed: he therefore sent for those who were guilty, and after reprimanding them, dismissed them all. But he was resolved to mortify Cinna by the greatness of his generosity: for addressing him in particular, "I have twice," says he, "given you your life; "first, as an enemy; now, as a conspirator; I "now give you the consulship: let us, therefore, "be friends for the future; and let us only contend in showing, whether my confidence, or "your fidelity, shall be victorious." This generosity, which the emperor very happily timed, had so good an effect, that from that instant all conspiracies ceased against him.

In the practice of such virtues as these, he passed a long reign of about forty years, to which the happiness of the people seemed to conspire with his own: not but that there were wars, in the distant provinces of the empire, during almost the whole reign; but they were rather the quelling of insurrections, than the extending of dominions; for he had made it a rule, to carry on no operations in which ambition, and not the safety of the state, was concerned. In fact, he seemed the first Roman, who aimed at gaining a character by the arts of peace alone; and who obtained the affections of the soldiers without any military talents of his own. Nevertheless, the Roman arms, under his lieutenants, were crowned with success. The Cantabrians, in Spain, who had revolted, were more than once quelled by Tiberius, his step-son; Agrippa, his son-in-law; and Ælius Lama; who followed them to their inaccessible mountains, there blocked them up, and compelled them by famine to surrender at discretion. The Germans also gave some uneasiness, by their repeated incursions into the territories of Gaul, but were repressed by Lollius. The Rhetians were conquered by Drusus, the brother of Tiberius. The Bessi and Sialatæ, barbarous nations, making an irruption into Thrace, were overthrown by Piso, governor of Pamphylia, who gained triumphal honours. The Dacians were repressed with more than one defeat: the Armenians also were brought into due subjection by Caius, his grandson. The

Getulians, in Africa, took up arms; but were subdued by the consul, Caius Cossus, who thence received the surname of Getulicus. A dangerous war also was carried on against the Dalmatians and Pannonians; who having acquired great strength, by the continuance of a long peace, gathered an army of two hundred thousand foot and nine thousand horse, threatening Rome itself with destruction. Levies were therefore made in Italy with the utmost expedition; the veteran troops were recalled from all parts; and Augustus went to Arminium, for the greater convenience of giving his directions. And, indeed, though personal valour was by no means his most shining ornament, yet no man could give wiser orders upon every emergency; or go with greater dispatch into all parts of his dominions, than he. This war continued near three years; being principally managed by Tiberius and Germanicus; the latter of whom gained great reputation against these fierce and barbarous multitudes. Upon their reduction, Bato, their leader, being summoned before the tribunal of Tiberius, and being demanded how he could offer to revolt against the power of Rome, the bold barbarian replied, "that the Romans, and "not he, were the aggressors; since they had "sent, instead of dogs and shepherds, to secure "their flocks, only wolves and bears to devour "them." But the war which was most fatal to the Roman interests during this reign, was that which was managed by Quintilius U. C. 752.

Varus. This general, invading the territories of the Germans, was induced to follow the enemy among their forests and marshes, with his army in separate bodies; there he was attacked by night, and entirely cut off, with his whole army. These were the best and choicest legions of the whole empire, either for valour, discipline, or experience. The affliction from this defeat seemed to sink very deep upon the mind of Augustus. He was often heard to cry out, in a tone of anguish, "Quintilius Varus, restore me my "legions;" and some historians pretend to say, that he never after recovered the former serenity of his temper.

But he had some uneasiness of a domestic nature, in his own family, that contributed to distress him: he had married Livia, the wife of Tiberius Nero, by the consent of her husband, at a time she was six months gone with child. This was an imperious woman; and, conscious of being beloved, she controlled him ever after at her pleasure. She had two sons by her former husband; Tiberius, the elder, whom she greatly loved; and Drusus, who was born three months after she had been married to Augustus, and who was thought to be his own son. The eldest of these, Tiberius, whom he afterwards adopted, and who succeeded him in the empire, was a good general, but of a suspicious and obstinate temper; so that though he was serviceable to Augustus in his foreign wars, yet he gave him but little quiet at home. He was, at last, obliged to go

into exile for five years to the island of Rhodes, where he chiefly spent his time in a retired manner, conversing with the Greeks, and addicting himself to literature; of which, however, he made afterwards but a bad use. Drusus, the other son of Livia, died in his return from an expedition against the Germans, leaving Augustus inconsolable for his loss. But his greatest affliction was, the conduct of his daughter Julia, whom he had by Scribonia, his former wife. This woman, whom he married to his general Agrippa, and after his death to Tiberius, set no bounds to her lewdness. Not contented with enjoying her pleasures, she seemed also earnest in procuring the infamy of her prostitutions. Augustus, for a long time, would not believe the accounts he daily heard of her conduct; but, at last, could not help observing them. He found she was arrived at that excess of wantonness and prodigality, that she had her nocturnal appointments in the most public parts of the city; the very court, where her father presided, not being exempt from her debaucheries. He at first had thoughts of putting her to death; but, after some consideration, he banished her to Pandataria, forbidding her the use of wine, and all such delicacies as could inflame her vicious inclinations: he ordered also, that no persons should come near her without his own permission; and sent her mother Scribonia with her, to bear her company. Afterwards, whenever any attempted to intercede for Julia, his answer

was, "That fire and water should sooner unite, "than he with her." When some persons, one day, were more than usually urgent with him in her favour, he was driven to such an extremity of passion, as to wish that they might have such a daughter. However, she had two sons by Agrippa, named Caius and Lucius, from whom great expectations were formed; but they died when scarcely arrived at man's estate: Lucius about five years after his father, at Marseilles; and Caius, two years after, on his return to Rome, of a wound he had received in Armenia. Thus Augustus having, in a great measure, survived all his nearest relations, at length, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, began to think of retiring, in good earnest, from the fatigues of state; and, in some measure, of constituting Tiberius his successor in his usual employments. He desired the senate to salute him no longer at the palace according to custom; nor to take it amiss, if, for the future, he could not converse with
U. C. them as formerly. From that time, Tibe-
766. rius was joined in the government of the provinces with him, and invested with almost the same authority. However, Augustus could not entirely forsake the administration of the state, which habit had mixed with his satisfactions; he still continued a watchful guardian of its interests, and showed himself, to the last, a lover of his people. Finding it now, therefore, very inconvenient to come to the senate, by reason of his age, he desired to have twenty privy-

counsellors assigned him for a year; and it was decreed, that whatever measures were resolved upon by them, together with the consuls, they should have entirely the force of a law. He seemed, in some measure, apprehensive of his approaching end; for he made his will, and delivered it to the vestal virgins. He then solemnized the census, or numbering the people, whom he found to amount to four millions one hundred and thirty-seven thousand; which shows Rome to be equal to four of the greatest cities of modern times. While these ceremonies were performing, by a mighty concourse of people in the Campus Martius, it is said, that an eagle flew round the emperor several times, and directing its flight to a neighbouring temple, perched over the name of Agrippa, which was by the augurs conceived to portend the death of the emperor. Shortly after, having accompanied Tiberius in his march into Illyria, as far as Beneventum, he was there taken ill of a diarrhœa. Returning, therefore, from thence, he came to Nola, near Capua, and there finding himself dangerously ill, he sent for Tiberius, with the rest of his most intimate friends and acquaintance. He did not continue long to indulge vain hopes of recovery, but convinced that his end was at hand, patiently awaited its arrival. A few hours before his death, he ordered a looking-glass to be brought, and his hair to be adjusted with more than usual care. He then addressed his friends, whom he beheld surrounding his bed, and de-

sired to know, whether he had properly played his part in life: to which being answered in the affirmative, he cried out with his last breath, "then give me your applause;" and thus, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, after reigning forty-one, he expired in the arms of Livia, bidding her remember their marriage and farewell.

The death of the emperor, when known, caused inexpressible grief throughout the whole Roman empire; it was even supposed that his wife Livia had some hand in hastening it, willing to procure the succession more speedily for her son. However this be, she took care, for some time, to keep it concealed, having guarded all the passages to the palace, sometimes giving out that he was recovered, and pretending a relapse. At length, having settled the succession to her mind, she published the emperor's death, and at the same time the adoption of Tiberius to the empire. The emperor's funeral was performed with great magnificence. The senators being in their places, Tiberius, on whom the care was devolved, began a consolatory oration to them; but suddenly stopped in the beginning of his speech, as unable to restrain the violence of his sorrow; and, instead of continuing, gave his notes to Drusus, his son, who read them to the senate. After this, one of the late emperor's freedmen publicly read his will in the senate-house, wherein he made Tiberius and Livia his heirs; and by that, Livia was likewise adopted into the Julian family, and honoured with the name of Augusta. He gave

considerable legacies to many private persons, to the prætorian guards, to the legionary soldiers, and to all the citizens of Rome. But his resentment to his daughter Julia continued even to the last; he left her a small legacy indeed, but would neither restore her to her family, nor permit her to be buried in the sepulchre of her ancestors. Besides his will, four other writings of his were produced: one, in which he had left instructions concerning his funeral; another, containing an enumeration of his several exploits; a third, comprising an account of the provinces, forces, and revenues of the empire; and the fourth, a schedule of directions to Tiberius for governing the empire. Among these, it was found to be his opinion, that no man, how great a favourite soever he might be, should be intrusted with too much authority, lest it should induce him to turn tyrant. Another maxim was, that none should desire to enlarge the empire, which was already preserved with difficulty. Thus he seemed studious of serving his country to the very last; and the sorrow of the people seemed equal to his assiduity. It was decreed, that all the women should mourn for him a whole year. Temples were erected to him; divine honours were allowed him; and one Numerius Atticus, a senator, willing to convert the adulation of the times to his own benefit, received a large sum of money, for swearing that he saw him ascending into heaven; so that no doubt remained among the people concerning his divinity.

Such were the honours paid to Augustus, whose power began in the slaughter, and terminated in the happiness of his subjects; so that it was said of him, "that it had been good for "mankind if he had never been born, or if he "never had died." It is very probable, that the cruelties exercised in his triumvirate were suggested by his colleagues; or perhaps he thought, in the case of Cæsar's death, that revenge was virtue. Certain it is, that these severities were, in some measure, necessary to restore public tranquillity; for until the Roman spirit was entirely eradicated, no monarchy could be secure. He gave the government an air suited to the disposition of the times; he indulged his subjects in the pride of seeing the appearance of a republic, while he made them really happy in the effects of a most absolute monarchy, guided by the most consummate prudence. In this last virtue he seems to have excelled most monarchs; and, indeed, could we separate Octavius from Augustus, he would be one of the most faultless princes in history. The long peace which his subjects enjoyed, during his administration, may be entirely ascribed to his moderation alone; and about the middle of his reign, the greatest part of mankind saw themselves, at once, professing obedience to one monarch, and in perfect harmony with each other.—This was the time in which our Saviour, Christ, came into the world to teach new laws, and give new sanctions to the practice of every human virtue. He was born

in Judea, in the seven hundred and fifty second year of Rome, the twenty-fifth of the reign of Augustus, and in the four thousand and third year of the world, according to the common computation.

CHAPTER IV.

Tiberius, the Third Emperor.

TIBERIUS is, perhaps, the strongest example of a man, by an excess of refinement, destroying those very advantages he attempts to secure. Augustus left him in possession of great popularity, and a happy empire; but he immediately found means to injure his popularity, by claiming as a debt that homage which his predecessor was willing to receive as a favour; and subverted the happiness of the empire, by making a distinction between the welfare of the prince and the people. Thus all his abilities only served to heighten his errors and corrupt his heart; till, in the end, his life seemed painfully employed, in finding pretexts for appearing what he might easily have been; and in deceiving others, by being deceived himself.

U. C. 767.
A. D. 15.

The first object of his suspicion, when he came to the empire, was Agrippa Posthumus, the third and only remaining son of the general of that name, by Julia daughter of Augustus. This youth having rather imitated the licentiousness of his mother than the prudence of his father, was banished by Augustus into the island of Planasium, and was now murdered by the order of Tiberius, who pretended that it was done by the particular appointment of the late emperor, who was solicitous for the safety of the succession. He even carried his dissimulation so far, that when the centurion who had executed his commands came with the account, Tiberius pretended that he had given no such command, and that he should answer for his conduct before the senate. However, the business was hushed up soon after, and no inquiry made after the murderer.

As for the people in general, they were now ready to suffer every injury, without murmuring. Every order of the state was ambitious of slavery, and only desirous of showing the extent of their obedience by the humility of their adulation. All suits and petitions were now made to Tiberius; and he, at the same time, took care, that nothing material should be done without his concurrence. The senate was willing enough to give up the reins of government; yet he had so much dissimulation in his nature, as to wish to make his acceptance of them the greatest favour. He began, therefore, in the senate, with great

art, to descant on the extent of the Roman empire, and the difficulty of guiding it with proper skill; he then alleged his own insufficiency for the task, and hinted, that no man could be a worthy successor to Augustus. But as the city was so happily ornamented with great numbers of wise and worthy men, it would be more advisable for a number to unite their care and their counsels, than to lay the whole burthen upon him alone. The senate, however, skilled now only in the arts of adulation, besought him, in the most humble manner, to accept of the government, and not to reject a task to which he alone was equal. Tiberius, upon this, pretending to be somewhat softened, partly accepted their offers; but alleged that he was unable to take the charge of the whole; but, at their request, declared himself willing to undertake the protection of any part they assigned him. Whereupon Asinius Gallus demanded, what part he was willing to take charge of. This unexpected question quite confounded the dissembling emperor. He, for some time, remained silent; but, recovering himself, answered with a subtle reserve, that it ill became him to choose any one part of that, from which he begged a general exemption. Gallus, who now perceived he had gone too far, and who, perhaps, only put the question to flatter his vanity, very readily brought himself off, by saying, "that he did not "offer that question, as though he designed to "divide what was in itself indissoluble; but from

"his own confession, to convince him, that the "commonwealth was but one body, and was "consequently to be actuated only by one soul." At length Tiberius, seemingly overcome by the importunities and clamours of all around him, yielded, by degrees, to their entreaties; and at last condescended to take upon him the labour of the government, purely to satisfy their wishes rather than his own; adding, however, that he would keep it only till they should think fit to give repose to his old age.

U. C. 765. A. D. 13. He was now fifty six years old, when he took upon him the government of the Roman empire. He had long lived in a profound state of dissimulation under Augustus, and was not yet hardy enough to show himself in his real character. In the beginning of his reign nothing appeared but prudence, generosity, and clemency. He utterly rejected many of those great names and titles of honour which were so liberally offered him by the senate. He prohibited their erecting statues to him but upon certain occasions, and absolutely forbade their worshipping him as a deity. Those just praises, also, which he might have received without censure, seemed irksome to him, and he appeared to desire no other rewards for his labours in the empire but the consciousness of having deserved them. When the senate offered to swear to obey all the ordinances which had not only been made, but those he was about to enact hereafter, he checked their vile adulation; observing, that

all sublunary things were mutable and uncertain, and the higher he was raised, his state would only be the more exposed to danger. He assumed also an appearance of great patience and moderation upon all occasions; and though in the senate there passed some things contrary to his will, yet he seemed not in the least offended. Having learned that some persons had spoken ill both of him and his government, he showed no resentment; but mildly replied, that in a free city the tongues of men ought also to be free. When the senate would have proceeded against some who had libelled him, he would not consent; alleging, that he had greater and more useful employments than to embarrass himself with such trifling concerns; adding, that the best way of punishing such as defamed him, was to make the account of his conduct uneasy to them, or else by retaliating their contempt. When some governors had shown him a method of increasing his revenues, he with indignation answered, that a good shepherd ought to shear but never flay his flock. He made many sumptuary edicts against taverns, and places of public resort; he punished dishonest matrons, and even prohibited kissing by way of salutation. He was very vigilant in suppressing robberies and seditions, and caused justice to be duly and regularly administered in all the towns of Italy. He also behaved in a very respectful manner to the senate, and in the beginning did nothing of moment without their advice and approbation. They,

on their parts, continually forced upon him the most extravagant praises; so that no prince was ever more flattered than he. Nor is it an improbable conjecture to suppose, that this adulation served greatly to pejorate his mind, and to make him more boldly throw aside the mask of dissimulation.

The successes of Germanicus first brought his natural dispositions to light, and discovered the malignity of his mind without disguise. He was scarcely well settled on his throne, when he received intelligence that the legions in Pannonia, hearing of the death of Augustus, and desirous of novelty, had revolted; but these were soon quieted, and Percennius their leader slain. A commotion in Germany was attended with much more important consequences. The legions in that part of the empire were conducted by Germanicus the son of Drusus, late brother of Tiberius, a youth of most admirable qualities, and who had been, at the late emperor's request, adopted to succeed to the empire. The legions under his command had taken the opportunity of his absence to revolt, and now boldly began to affirm that the whole Roman empire was in their power, and that its principal grandeur was owing to the success of their arms; wherefore, when Germanicus returned, they unanimously resolved to choose him emperor. This general was the darling of the soldiers, and almost idolized by them, so that he might with very little difficulty have raised himself to the highest dig-

nity in the state; but his duty prevailed over his ambition: he rejected their offers with the utmost indignation, and used the most indefatigable endeavours to oppose the sedition. This he effected, though with extreme hazard, by cutting off many of the principal revolters, and then by leading the troops against the Germans, who were considered as the common enemies of the empire.

Tiberius was as much pleased with the loyalty of Germanicus as he was distressed at his superior popularity; his success also, immediately after, against the Germans, only still more excited the emperor's envy and private disgust: he overthrew the enemy in several battles, subduing many wild and extensive countries, the Angrivarii, the Cherusci, and the Chatti, with other fierce nations beyond the Rhine. Among his other conquests it was not considered as the least honourable, that of recovering the standards that had been taken from the unfortunate Varus, and erecting trophies to the memory of his own legions, in those very wilds in which the legions of the former were slain. Upon one of the monuments of his victories he placed a modest inscription, mentioning only the people that were conquered, and the army which made the conquest, entirely omitting his own name, either willing to avoid envy, or sensible that posterity would supply the defect.

All these victories, however, only served to inflame the emperor's jealousy, and every virtue

in the general now became a new cause of offence. This dislike first began to appear by Tiberius making use of every pretence to draw Germanicus from the legions; but he was for a while obliged to postpone his purpose, upon account of a domestic insurrection, which was made in Italy by one Clemens, who had been a slave to the young Agrippa that was slain. This adventurer being about the same age, and in person very much resembling his late master, took upon him his name, and caused it to be reported in all parts of Italy that Agrippa was still
A.D. alive. This report, idle as it was, had a
17. surprising influence through the empire, and raised great tumults in many towns of Italy, Clemens himself boldly asserting his claim, and now and then appearing in different parts of the country, when he could do it with safety. Tiberius, however, knew but too well the imposture, and was resolved to oppose fraud on his side to that of this young pretender. Accordingly, two soldiers were employed, who were to find him out, and by pretending an attachment to his person, seize him upon the first opportunity. This commission they executed with punctuality and success. Clemens was taken prisoner, and brought before Tiberius, who sternly demanded how he came to be Agrippa? to which the other as boldly replied, "By the "same arts with which you have become Cæ- "sar." Tiberius finding by his resolution that it was vain to expect any discovery from him

of his accomplices, resolved to put him immediately to death; however, such were his apprehensions from the people, that he would not punish him publicly, but ordered him to be conveyed to a secret apartment in the palace, and there to be executed in private.

Being now rid of his domestic enemy, he began to consult on the most specious means of bringing home Germanicus from the legions in Germany. For this, an invasion of the Parthians offered him the fairest opportunity. These fierce and unconquerable people having slain two of their own kings, and having refused to accept one who had been a hostage at Rome, and was, it seems, the lawful successor, they broke the peace which had been ratified in the reign of Augustus, and invaded Armenia, a kingdom tributary to the empire. Tiberius was not displeased at this invasion, as it gave him a pretext for recalling Germanicus from those legions which were too much devoted to his interest. He first, therefore, began by procuring him a triumph for his victory in Germany; and then by writing to him to return, in order to enjoy those honours which the senate had decreed: adding, that he had reaped enough of glory in a country where he had been sent nine times, and had been every time victorious; concluding, that the number of triumphs were sufficient; and, that the most signal vengeance that could be inflicted on them, was their being permitted to carry on their own intestine commotions. To

all these specious civilities Germanicus made no direct reply, but earnestly entreated the continuance of his command for one year longer, only to finish the enterprises he had begun. Tiberius, however, was too well skilled in dissimulation not to prevail upon him by a repetition of pretended honours; he offered him the consulship, and desired him to execute the office in person; so that Germanicus had no longer any pretences for refusing. Thus, finding the season very far advanced, he delayed his return no longer; and he was met many miles out of the city by infinite multitudes, who received him rather with marks of adoration than respect: the gracefulness of his person; his triumphal chariot, in which were carried his five children; and the recovered standards of the army of Varus, threw the people into a phrenzy of joy and admiration. Tiberius, though inwardly repining, seemed to join in the general rapture: he gave the people, in the name of Germanicus, three hundred sesterces each man; and, the succeeding year, made him his colleague in the consulship. However, his aim was to send him distant from Rome, where his popularity was now become odious to him; and yet not to give him such a command as could at any time be turned against himself. Wherefore, the Parthian invasion was now very convenient for his designs; and, besides, there now offered other pretexts for sending him into Asia; which might be considered as no better than specious banishment.

Antiochus, king of Comagena, and Philopater, king of Cilicia, being both dead, some differences arose in those nations to the prejudice of the Romans. At the same time, also, Syria and Judea, overburdened with taxes, made earnest supplications for redress. These, therefore, appeared to be objects worthy the attention of Germanicus; and Tiberius was not wanting in urging before the senate the necessity there was of his presence in that quarter of the empire. In consequence of this, all the provinces of Asia were readily decreed to Germanicus; and a greater power given him than had been granted to any governor before. But Tiberius, to restrain this power, had sent Cneius Piso governor into Syria; having dispossessed Silenus of that office. This Piso was a person of a furious and headstrong temper; and, in every respect, fit to execute those fatal purposes for which he was designed. His instructions were to oppose Germanicus upon every occasion; and to excite all the hatred against him, which, without suspicion, he could; and even to procure his death, if an opportunity should offer.

Germanicus being now appointed to his new dignity, departed from Rome for his eastern expedition, carrying with him his wife Agrippina, and his children. In the mean time, Piso, pursuant to his directions, endeavoured to gain the affections of the soldiers by all the arts of bribery and adulation. He took every opportunity of abusing Germanicus; and taxed him

A. D. 19.

with diminishing the Roman glory by his peculiar protection to that people who called themselves Athenians, but were now such no longer. Germanicus disregarded his invectives, being more employed in executing the business of his commission, than in counteracting the private designs of Piso. In a short time he replaced the king of Armenia, who was a friend to the Romans; and reduced Cilicia and Comagena into Roman provinces, placing prætors there to collect the taxes due to the empire. He soon after obliged the king of Parthia to sue for peace; which was granted him, much to the advantage and honour of Rome. However, Piso and his wife Plancina, who is recorded as one of an implacable and cruel disposition, continued to defame him, and openly to tax all his proceedings. These efforts of ineffective malice were quite disregarded; Germanicus only opposed patience and condescension to all their invectives; and with that gentleness which was peculiar to him, repaid their resentment by courtesy. He was not ignorant of their motives; and was rather willing to evade than oppose their enmity. Wherefore, he took a voyage into Egypt, under a pretence of viewing the celebrated antiquities of the place; but in reality, to avoid the machinations of Piso, and those of his wife, which were still more dangerous. However, upon his return, he fell sick; and, whether from a mind previously alarmed, or from more apparent marks of treachery, he sent to let Piso know, that he

broke off all further connections and friendship with him. A short interval of convalescence restored the hopes of his friends, and the citizens of Antioch prepared to offer sacrifices for his recovery. However, Piso, with his lictors, disturbed their solemnities, and drove off their victims from the foot of the altars. In the mean time, Germanicus grew daily worse; and his death now began to appear inevitable. Whereupon, finding his end approaching, he addressed his friends, who stood round his bed, to the following effect:—"Had my death been natural, I "might have reason to complain of being thus "snatched away from all the endearments of life "at so early an age; but now my complaints "are aggravated in falling the victim of Piso "and Plancina's treachery. Let the emperor, "therefore, I conjure you, know the manner of "my death, and the tortures I suffer. Those that "loved me, when living, those even that envied "my fortune, will feel some regret, when they "hear of a soldier, who had so often escaped "the rage of the enemy, falling a sacrifice to the "treachery of a woman. Plead, then, my cause "before the people; you will be heard with pity; "and if my murderers should pretend to have "acted by command, they will either receive no "credit or no pardon." As he spoke these words, he stretched forth his hand, which his weeping friends tenderly pressing, most earnestly vowed that they would sooner lose their lives than their

revenge. The dying prince then turning to his wife, conjured her by his memory, and all the bonds of nuptial love, to submit to the necessity of the times, and to evade the resentment of her more powerful enemies by not opposing it. Thus much he said openly; something more was uttered in private; intimating, as was supposed, his fears from the emperor's cruelty; and shortly after he expired. Nothing could exceed the distress of the whole empire upon hearing of the death of Germanicus. But the people of Rome seemed to put no bounds to their distress. A vacation was made in all public and domestic duties; the streets were filled with lamentations; the people cast stones at their temples, and flung down their altars; while new-born infants were exposed, as objects not worthy parental attention in this universal distress. So much was the spirit of the people now changed from its former fortitude and equality. They now were so accustomed to place their happiness in paying homage to their masters, that they considered the safety of the state as comprised in an individual. In fact, the community was now composed of persons who had lately received their freedom; or of such indolent and idle people as lived at the expence of the public treasure. These were, therefore, sensible of nothing but their own imbecility; and afflicted themselves, like children, for evils which were only suggested by their fears.

In this universal distress, Piso seemed marked for destruction. Historians, in general, charge him and his wife with the death of Germanicus: it is now too remote a period to controvert their testimony; however, the general accusation of their giving him a slow poison, is one of those imputations that seems to have but little foundation. The belief of slow poisons is now much disputed; it being in general supposed by physicians, that it is not in the power of art to regulate the duration of their effect. Let this be as it will, not only Piso and his wife, but even the emperor himself, with his mother Livia, incurred a share of the general suspicion. These were soon after greatly increased by the arrival of Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, a woman in high esteem for her virtue, who appeared bearing the ashes of her husband, and attended by all her children. As she approached the city, she was met by the senate, and the whole body of the people of Rome, with a strange mixture of acclamation and distress. The veteran soldiers, many of whom had served under Germanicus, gave the sincerest testimonies of their concern. The whole multitude, while the ashes were depositing in the tomb of Augustus, at first regarded the ceremony in profound silence; but shortly after, all of a sudden, broke out into loud lamentations; crying, that the commonwealth was now no more.

Tiberius, whose jealousy had some reason to be alarmed at this effeminate excess of sorrow, used all his art to hide his anger, and make a

show of sharing in the general calamity. He even permitted the accusations of Piso, who was supposed to be merely the instrument of his vengeance. This general having returned to Rome shortly after, presuming on the great favour he was in with the emperor, was accused before the senate, in behalf of Agrippina and her friends, of the death of Germanicus, and several other crimes; particularly his cruelty to good men, and his corrupting the legions, were laid to his charge.

Piso, either conscious of his innocence, or seeing the inefficacy of any defence against the tide of popularity, vindicated himself but weakly against every part of the charge. However, the poisoning of Germanicus could not be made evident enough to satisfy his judges, who seemed to take part against him. His trial was therefore drawn out to a greater length than was expected: but in the mean time he cut it short, by putting an end to his life in his own house. His wife Plancina, who was universally believed to be most culpable, escaped punishment by the interest of Livia; so that all disturbances raised upon this account by degrees subsided.

About a year after the death of Germanicus, Tiberius took his own son Drusus as a colleague with him in the consulship; and, willing to initiate him into business betimes, left him in the government of the city; while he himself retired, under the pretence of indisposition. About this time, several nations of the Gauls revolted, being unable to endure the heavy tributes which the

emperor had lately imposed upon them. The principal leaders in the revolt, were Florus and Sacrovir; who were so successful in the beginning, that the fame of their successes spread consternation even as far as Rome. Caius Silius, however, marched with the Roman legions to oppose them; and gained a great and decisive victory. A revolt also happened about this time in Numidia, under Tacfarinas, who had rebelled once before; but he was now, in some measure, brought under by Blæsus; who, in consequence, received the honour of being saluted imperator, by the permission of Tiberius.

Hitherto Tiberius had kept within bounds: he was frugal; just in the distribution of offices; a rigid punisher of injustice in others; and an example of temperance to his luxurious court. But now, from the ninth year of his reign, it is that historians begin to trace the bloody effects of his suspicious temper.

Having now no object of jealousy to keep him in awe, he began to pull off the mask entirely, and appear more in his natural character than before. He no longer adopted that wisest maxim, the truth of which has familiarized it into a proverb, that "honesty is the best policy." With him, judgment, justice, and extent of thinking, were converted into sliness, artifice, and expedients adapted to momentary conjunctures. He took upon himself the interpretation of all political measures; and gave morals whatever colour he chose, by the fine-drawn speculations

of his own malicious mind. He began daily to diminish the authority of the senate; which design was much facilitated by their own aptitude to slavery; so that he despised their meanness, while he enjoyed its effects. A law at that time subsisted, which made it treason to form any injurious attempt against the majesty of the people. Tiberius assumed to himself the interpretation and enforcement of this law, and extended it not only to the cases which really affected the safety of the state, but to every conjuncture that could possibly be favourable to his hatred or suspicions. All freedom was now, therefore, banished from convivial meetings; and diffidence reigned amongst the dearest relations. The gloomy disposition and insincerity of the prince were diffused through all ranks of men; friendship had the air of an allurement to betray; and a fine genius was but a shining indiscretion; even virtue itself was considered as an impertinent intruder, that only served to remind the people of their lost happiness.

The law of offended majesty being revived, the first of note that fell a sacrifice to it, was Cremutius Cordus, who, in his annals of the Roman empire, had called Brutus the last of the Romans. It is also thought he had given offence to Sejanus, the emperor's favourite, by too great liberty in private conversation. This brave man, seeing his death resolved upon, defended himself, in the senate, with great force and undaunted resolution. Then going home, he resolved to defeat

the malice of the tyrant by a voluntary death, and refused taking any manner of sustenance.* The informers, who perceived that he was upon the point of depriving them of their reward, presented their complaints to the senate, signifying his intentions of escaping justice. However, while their petitions continued under deliberation, Cremutius, as Seneca expresses it, pronounced his own absolution by dying.

It was in the beginning of these cruelties, that Tiberius took into his confidence Sejanus, a Roman knight, who found out the method of gaining his confidence by the most refined degree of dissimulation, being an over-match for his master in his own arts. This favourite minister, by birth a Volscian, was close and subtle in his designs, but bold and aspiring in his attempts, modest to outward appearance, but concealing an ambition that knew no bounds. He was so secure in the affections of the emperor, that, though ever reserved and secret to others, he was entirely open and explicit with him. He was made by the emperor, captain of the prætorian guards, one of the most confidential trusts in the state; and extolled in the senate as a worthy associate in his labours. The servile senators, with ready adulation, set up the statues of the favourite beside those of Tiberius; and seemed eager to pay him similar honours. It is not well known whether he was the adviser of all the cruelties that ensued soon after; but certain it is,

that, from the beginning of his ministry, Tiberius seemed to become more fatally suspicious.

It was from such humble beginnings, that this minister even ventured to aspire at the throne, and was resolved to make the emperor's foolish confidence one of the first steps to his ruin. However, he considered that cutting off Tiberius alone would rather retard than promote his designs, while his son Drusus, and the children of Germanicus, were yet remaining. He therefore began by corrupting Livia, the wife of Drusus, whom, after having debauched, he prevailed upon to poison her husband. This was effected by means of a slow poison (as we are told), which gave his death the appearance of a casual distemper. Tiberius, in the mean time, either naturally phlegmatic, or, at best, not much regarding his son, bore his death with great tranquillity. He was even heard to jest upon the occasion: for when the ambassadors from Troy came somewhat late with their compliments of condolence, he answered their pretended distresses by condoling with them also upon the death of Hector.

Sejanus, having succeeded in this, was resolved to make his next attempt upon the children of Germanicus, who were undoubted successors to the empire. However, he was frustrated in his designs, both with regard to the fidelity of their governors, and the chastity of Agrippina, their mother. Whereupon, he resolved upon chang-

ing his aims, and removing Tiberius out of the city; by which means he expected more frequent opportunities of putting his designs into execution. He therefore used all his address to persuade Tiberius to retire to some agreeable retreat, remote from Rome. By this he expected many advantages, since there could be no access to the emperor but by him. Thus all letters being conveyed to the prince by soldiers at his own devotion, they would pass through his hands; by which means he must in time become the sole governor of the empire; and, at last, be in a capacity of removing all obstacles to his ambition. He now therefore began to insinuate to Tiberius the great and numerous inconveniences of the city; the fatigues of attending the senate; and the seditious temper of the inferior citizens of Rome. Tiberius, either prevailed upon by his persuasions, or pursuing the natural turn of his temper, which led to indolence and debauchery, in the twelfth year of his reign left Rome, and went into Campania, under pretence of dedicating temples to Jupiter and Augustus. After this, though he removed to several places, he never returned to Rome, but spent the greatest part of his time in the island of Caprea, a place which was rendered as infamous by his pleasures as detestable by his cruelties, which were shocking to human nature. For having, in pursuance of his intentions, dedicated the temples which he had built in Campania, he published an edict, forbidding all persons to dis-

turb his repose; and stopped the concourse of his subjects, by placing soldiers in the ways which led to his palace. But still growing weary of places where mankind might follow him with their complaints and distresses, he withdrew himself, as was said, into that most delightful island of Caprea, three miles from the continent, and opposite Naples. Buried in this retreat, he gave himself up to his pleasures, quite regardless of the miseries of his subjects. Thus an insurrection of the Jews, upon placing his statue in Jerusalem, under the government of Pontius Pilate, gave him no sort of uneasiness. The falling of an amphitheatre at Fidenæ, in which fifty thousand persons were either killed or wounded, no way affected his repose. He was only employed in studying how to vary his odious pleasures, and forcing his feeble frame, shattered by age and former debaucheries, into the enjoyment of them. Nothing can present a more horrid picture than the retreat of this impure old man, attended in this place by all the ministers of his perverted appetites. He was at this time sixty-seven years old; his person was most displeasing; and some say the disagreeableness of it, in a great measure, drove him into retirement. He was quite bald before; his face was all broke out into ulcers, and covered over with plasters; his body was bowed forward; while its extreme height and leanness increased its deformity. With such a person, and a mind still more hideous, being gloomy, suspicious, and cruel, he sat down

with a view rather of forcing his appetites than satisfying them. He spent whole nights in debaucheries at the table; and he appointed Pomponius Flaccus and Lucius Piso to the first posts of the empire, for no other merit than that of having sat up with him two days and two nights without interruption. These he called his friends of all hours. He made one Novelius Torgantus a prætor, for being able to drink off five bottles of wine at a draught. His luxuries of another kind were still more detestable, and seemed to increase with his drunkenness and gluttony. He made the most eminent women of Rome subservient to his lusts; and all his inventions only seemed calculated how to make his vices more extravagant and abominable. Here he invented rooms adapted to his libidinous exercises, where he made use of all manner of incentives, which nothing but the depraved imagination of a tyrant could delight in. The numberless obscene medals dug up in that island at this day, bear witness at once to his shame, and the veracity of the historians who have described his debaucheries. In short, in this retreat, which was surrounded with rocks on every side, he quite gave up the business of the empire; or, if he was ever active, it was only to do mischief.

In fact, it had been happy for mankind had he given up his suspicions when he declined the fatigues of reigning, and resigned the will to do harm when he divested himself of the power of doing good. But from the time of his retreat,

he became more cruel, and Sejanus always endeavoured to increase his distrusts. Secret spies and informers were placed in all parts of the city, who converted the most harmless actions into subjects of offence. If any person of merit testified any concern for the glory of the empire, it was immediately construed into a design to obtain it. If another spoke with regret of former liberty, he was supposed to aim at re-establishing the commonwealth. Every action became liable to forced interpretations; joy expressed a hope of the prince's death; melancholy, an envying of his prosperity. Sejanus found his aims every day succeeding; the wretched emperor's terrors were an instrument that he wrought upon at his pleasure, and by which he levelled every obstacle to his designs. But the chief objects of his jealousy were the children of Germanicus, whom he resolved to put out of the way. He, therefore, sedulously continued to render them obnoxious to the emperor, to alarm him with false reports of their ambition, and to terrify them with alarms of his intended cruelty. By these means he so contrived to widen the breach, that he actually produced on both sides those dispositions which he pretended to obviate; till, at length, the two princes, Nero and Drusus, were declared enemies to the state, and afterwards starved to death in prison, while Agrippina, their mother, was sent into banishment.

In consequence of their pretended crimes, many others lost their lives. Sabinus, who was

attached to their interests, was accused and condemned by a most vile combination of informers against him. Asinius Gallus was sentenced to remain in prison, only to increase the rigour of his punishment by a lingering death. Syriacus was condemned and executed, merely for being a friend to the latter. In this manner Sejanus proceeded, removing all who stood between him and the empire, and every day increasing in confidence with Tiberius, and power with the senate. The number of his statues exceeded even those of the emperor; people swore by his fortune, in the same manner as they would have done had he been actually upon the throne; and he was more dreaded than even the tyrant who actually enjoyed the empire. But the rapidity of his rise seemed only preparatory to the greatness of his downfall. All we know of his first disgrace with the emperor is, that Satrius Secundus was the man who had the boldness to accuse him. Antonia, the mother of Germanicus, seconded the accusation. What were the particulars of his crimes, we now cannot learn; but certain it is, that he attempted to usurp the empire by aiming at the life of Tiberius; but his own life was very opportunely substituted to that against which he aimed. Tiberius, sensible of the traitor's power, proceeded with his usual dissimulation in having him apprehended. He granted him new honours at the very time he resolved his death, and took him as his colleague in the consulship. The emperor's letter to the

senate began only with slight complaints against his friend, but ended with an order for putting him in prison. He entreated the senators to protect a poor old man, as he was, abandoned by all; and in the mean time prepared ships for his flight, and ordered soldiers for his security. The senate, who had long been jealous of the favourite's power, and dreaded his cruelty, immediately took this opportunity of going beyond their orders. Instead of sentencing him to imprisonment, they directed his execution. A strange revolution now appeared in the city; of those numbers that but a moment before were pressing into the presence of Sejanus with offers of service and adulation, not one was found that would seem to be of his acquaintance: he was deserted by all; and those who had formerly received the greatest benefits from him, seemed now converted into his most inveterate enemies.. As he was conducting to execution, the people loaded him with insult and execration. He attempted to hide his face with his hands, but even this was denied him, and his hands were secured. He was pursued with sarcastic reproaches, his statues were instantly thrown down, and he himself shortly after strangled by the executioner. Nor did the rage of his enemies subside with his death; his body was ignominiously dragged about the streets, and his whole family executed with him. Such was the end of Sejanus; a striking example of the instability of every favourite's power, and the precariousness of every tyrant's friendship.

His death only lighted up the emperor's rage for further executions. Plancina, the wife of Piso, was put to death, as little pitied as the former. Sextus Vestilius shared the same fate, as it was pretended, for having written a satire against Caligula, the only surviving son of Germanicus; but his real fault was, that his severe virtues were become intolerable to the vicious emperor. Vescularius Atticus and Julius Marinus, formerly the inseparable friends of Tiberius, and who had been his companions in Rhodes, were now executed by his command for being attached to Sejanus; and Mamercus Scaurus was also obliged to prevent his execution by suicide, for having written a tragedy upon the story of Atreus. The suspicious emperor applied to himself the invective that was alleged against tyrants in general; and declared in a rage, that if he was become an Atreus, he would compel the author to become an Ajax. Vitia, an aged woman, was put to death only for having lamented the execution of her son. Fufius, and his wife Publia, being accused of treason against the emperor, were obliged to prevent their condemnation by suicide. Confidius Proculus, as he was cheerfully employed among his friends, in celebrating his birth-day, found himself, in an instant, dragged before the senate, accused of conspiring against the emperor, condemned, and executed: the whole family of Theophanes was treated with the same cruel expedition. Sextus Marius found his riches and the beauty of his

daughter sufficient causes to procure his conviction and death. The prisons were crowded with pretended accomplices in the conspiracy of Sejanus. Tiberius began to grow weary of particular executions; he therefore gave orders, that all the accused should be put to death together, without further examination. The whole city was filled with slaughter and mourning. The place of execution was a deplorable scene, where persons of every sex and age were exposed, racked, and mangled; dead bodies putrefying, lay heaped on each other, while even the friends of the wretched convicts were denied the satisfaction of weeping. Thus miserable were the Romans, under the arbitrary rod of this gloomy tyrant; no person, though ever so virtuous, could be safe; or, rather, every virtue was but an approach to new dangers. Of twenty senators, whom he chose for his council, he put sixteen to death. "Let them hate me," cried he, "so long as they "obey me." He even averred that Priam was a happy man, who outlived all his posterity. In this manner there was not a day without some barbarous execution, in which the sufferers were obliged to undergo the most shameful indignities and exquisite torments. When one Carnulius had killed himself to avoid the torture: "Ah," cried Tiberius, "how has that man been able to "escape me!" When a prisoner earnestly entreated that he would not defer his death: "No," cried the tyrant, "I am not sufficiently your "friend, to shorten your torment." Sometimes

he was more jocose in his cruelties, particularly, when a certain man, stopping a hearse, desired the dead body to tell Augustus, that his legacies to the people were yet unpaid. Tiberius sent for him, and, having paid him his share, caused him to be immediately executed; bidding him go tell Augustus, that he, at least, had been satisfied. One would have thought that such cruelties, exercised at Rome, would have satiated his love of vengeance; but Caprea itself, the place secluded for his pleasures and his ease, was daily contaminated, not less with his cruelties than his debauchery. He often satisfied his eyes with the tortures of the wretches who were put to death before him; and in the days of Suetonius, the rock was to be seen, from which he ordered such as had displeased him to be thrown headlong. As he was one day examining some persons upon the rack, he was told that an old friend of his was come from Rhodes to see him. Tiberius supposing him brought for the purposes of information, immediately ordered him to the torture; and when he was convinced of his mistake, he ordered him to be put to death to prevent further discovery.

In this manner did the tyrant continue to torment others, although he was himself still more tortured by his own suspicions. In one of his letters to the senate, he confessed that the gods and goddesses had so afflicted and confounded him, that he knew not what or how to write: and, in fact, he had every reason for such

a confession; a plotting senate, a reviling people, his bodily infirmities increased by his luxuries, and his nearest friends conscious of being suspected. The domestic policy of the empire, also, was in the hands of miscreants, and the frontier provinces were invaded with impunity. Mesia was seized on by the Dacians and Sarmatians; Gaul was wasted by the Germans, and Armenia conquered by the king of Parthia. These were losses that might excite the vigilance of any other governor than Tiberius. He, however, was so much a slave to his brutal appetites, that he left his provinces wholly to the care of his lieutenants, and they were intent rather on the accumulation of private fortune, than the safety of the state. Such a total disorder in the empire might be naturally supposed to produce a degree of anxiety in him who governed it; so that he was heard to wish, that heaven and earth might perish with him when he died.

In this manner he lived, odious to all the world, and troublesome to himself; an enemy to the lives of others, and a tormentor of his own. At length, however, in the twenty-second year of his reign, he began to feel the approaches of his dissolution, and all his appetites totally to forsake him. He now, therefore, found it was time to think of a successor, and hesitated for a long while, whether he should choose Caligula, whose vices were too apparent to escape his observation. He had been often heard to say, that this youth had all the faults of Sylla, without his

virtues; that he was a serpent that would sting the empire, and a Phaeton that would set the world in a flame. However, notwithstanding all his well-grounded apprehensions, he named him for his successor; willing, perhaps, by the enormity of Caligula's conduct, to cover the memory of his own.

But though he thought fit to choose a successor, he could by no means think of dying: though totally forsaken by his appetites and enjoyments, his dissimulation never forsook him: he therefore concealed his approaching decline with the utmost care, as if he was willing at once to hide it from the world and himself. He long had a contempt for physic, and refused the advice of such as attended him: he even seemed to take a pleasure in being present at the sports of the soldiers, and ventured himself to throw a javelin at a boar that was let loose before him. The effort which he made upon this occasion caused a pain in his side, which hastened the approaches of death: still, however, he seemed willing to avoid his end; and strove, by change of place, to put off the inquietude of his own reflections. He left his favourite island, and went upon the continent: he at last fixed at the promontory of Misenum, in a house that had formerly belonged to Lucullus. It was there that Chiracles, his physician, pretending to kiss his hand, felt the failure of his pulse, and apprised Macro, the emperor's present favourite, that he had not above

two days to live. Tiberius, on the contrary, who had perceived the art of Chiracles, did all in his power to impress his attendants with an opinion of his health; he continued at table till the evening; he saluted all his guests as they left the room, and read the acts of the senate, in which they had absolved some persons he had written against, with great indignation. He resolved to take signal vengeance of their disobedience, and meditated new schemes of cruelty, when he fell into such faintings, as all believed were fatal. It was in this situation, that, by Macro's advice, Caligula prepared to secure the succession. He received the congratulations of the whole court, he caused himself to be acknowledged by the prætorian soldiers, and went forth from the emperor's apartment amidst the applauses of the multitude; when all of a sudden he was informed that the emperor was recovered, that he had begun to speak, and desired to eat. This unexpected account filled the whole court with terror and alarm: every one who had before been earnest in testifying their joy now reassumed their pretended sorrow, and left the new emperor, through a feigned solicitude for the fate of the old. Caligula himself seemed thunderstruck: he preserved a gloomy silence, expecting nothing but death, instead of the empire at which he had aspired. Macro, however, who was hardened in crime, ordered that the dying emperor should be dispatched, by smothering him

with pillows, or, as others will have it, by U. C.
poison. In this manner Tiberius died in 790.
the seventy-eighth year of his age, after A. D.
reigning twenty-two. 39.

Little can be added to the character of this prince, which, in every instance, was so strongly marked with cruelty and dissimulation. It only remains, therefore, to characterize the people whom he governed. The Romans were, at this time, arrived at their highest pitch of effeminacy and vice. The wealth of almost every nation of the empire, having, for some time, circulated through the city, brought with it the luxuries peculiar to each country; so that Rome presented a detestable picture of various pollutions. In this reign lived Apicius, so well known for having reduced gluttony into system: some of the notorious in this way, thought it no shame to give near a hundred pounds for a single fish, and exhaust a fortune of fifty thousand pounds in one entertainment. Debaucheries of every other kind kept pace with this; while the detestable folly of the times thought it was refining upon pleasure to make it unnatural. There were at Rome men called Spintriæ, whose sole trade it was, to study new modes of pleasure; and these were universally favourites of the great. The senators were long fallen from their authority, and were no less estranged from their integrity and honour. Their whole study seemed to be, how to invent new ways of flattering the emperor, and various methods of tor-

menting his supposed enemies. The people were still more corrupt; they had, for some years, been accustomed to live in idleness, upon the donations of the emperor; and, being satisfied with subsistence, entirely gave up their freedom. Too effeminate and cowardly to go to war, they only railed against their governor; so that they were bad soldiers and seditious citizens. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that such indifferent subjects should be indifferently governed. It has been often asked, how so many of the emperors were bad princes. The answer is easy—because the people they had brought to command, were ill disposed to obey. Good subjects generally make good kings; while luxury, sedition, discontent, and murmurs in the populace as usually produce severity, cruelty, and suspicion in him who is appointed to govern. Little more need be said of these times, but that, in the eighteenth year of this monarch's reign, Christ was crucified; as if the universal depravity of mankind wanted no less a sacrifice than that of God himself, to reclaim them. Shortly after his death, Pilate wrote to Tiberius an account of his passion, resurrection, and miracles; upon which the emperor made a report of the whole to the senate, desiring that Christ might be accounted a God by the Romans. But the senate being displeased that the proposal had not come first from themselves, refused to allow of his apotheosis; alleging an ancient law, which gave them the superintendence in all matters of

religion. They even went so far as, by an edict, to command, that all Christians should leave the city; but Tiberius, by another edict, threatened death to all such as should accuse them: by which means they continued unmolested during the rest of his reign.

CHAPTER V.

Caligula, the Fourth Emperor.

No monarch ever came to the throne with more advantages than Caligula. He was the son of Germanicus, who had been the darling of the army and the people. He was bred among the soldiers, from whom he received the name of Caligula, from the short buskin, called Caliga, that was worn by the common sentinels, and which was also usually worn by him. He succeeded a merciless tyrant; after whom, even moderate merit would look like excellence. Wherefore as he approached Rome, the principal men of the state went out in crowds to meet him. He received the congratulations of the people on every side, all equally pleased in being free from the cruelties of Tiberius, and in hoping new advantages from the virtues of his successor.

Caligula seemed to take every precaution to impress them with the opinion of a happy change. Amidst the rejoicings of the multitude, he advanced mourning. with the dead body of Tiberius, which the soldiers brought to be burned at Rome, according to the custom of that time. Upon his entrance into the city, he was received with new titles of honour by the senate, whose chief employment seemed now to be, the art of increasing their emperor's vanity. He was left coheir with Gemellus, grand-son to Tiberius; but they set aside the nomination, and declared Caligula sole successor to the empire. The joy for this election was not confined to the narrow bounds of Italy; it spread through the whole empire, and victims without number were sacrificed upon the occasion. Some of the people upon his going into the island of Caprea, made vows for his return; and shortly after, when he fell sick, the multitude crowded whole nights round his palace, and some even devoted themselves to death in case he recovered, setting up bills of their resolutions in the street. In this affection of the citizens, strangers themselves seemed ambitious of sharing. Artabanus, king of Parthia, who took every method of contemning his predecessor, sought the present emperor's alliance with assiduity. He came to a personal conference with one of his legates; he passed the Euphrates, he adored the Roman eagles, and kissed the emperor's images; so that the whole world seemed combined to praise him for virtues,

which their hopes, and not their experience, had given him.

Thus all the enormities of this emperor were concealed in the beginning of his reign. He at first seemed extremely careful of the public; and having performed the funeral solemnities of Tiberius, he hastened to the islands of Pandataria and Pontia, to remove the ashes of his mother and brothers, exposing himself to the danger of tempestuous weather, to give a lustre to his piety. Having brought them to Rome, he ordained annual sǒlemnities to their honour, and ordered the month of September to be called Germanicus, in memory of his father. These ceremonies being over, he conferred the same honours upon his grandmother Antonia, which had before been given to Livia; and ordered all informations to be burnt, that any ways exposed the enemies of his family. He even refused a paper that was offered him, tending to the discovery of a conspiracy against himself; alleging, that he was conscious of nothing to deserve any man's hatred, and, therefore, had no fears from their machinations. He caused the institutions of Augustus, which had been disused in the reign of Tiberius, to be revived; he undertook to reform many abuses in the state, and severely punished corrupt governors. Among others, he banished Pontius Pilate into Gaul, where this unjust magistrate afterwards put an end to his life by suicide. He strictly inspected the behaviour of the knights,

whom he publicly degraded upon being found guilty of an infamous crime.

He banished, without remission, the Spintriæ, or inventors of abominable recreations, from Rome. He attempted to restore the ancient manner of electing magistrates by the suffrages of the people, and gave them a free jurisdiction, without any appeal to himself. Although the will of Tiberius was annulled by the senate, and that of Livia suppressed by Tiberius, yet he caused all their legacies to be punctually paid; and, in order to make Gemellus amends for missing the crown, he caused him to be elected Princeps Juventutis, or Principal of the Youth. He restored some kings to their dominions, who had been unjustly dispossessed by Tiberius, and gave them the arrears of their revenues. And, that he might appear an encourager of every virtue, he ordered a female slave a large sum of money, for enduring the most exquisite torments without discovering the secrets of her master. So many concessions, and such apparent virtue, could not fail of receiving just applause. A shield of gold, bearing his image, was decreed to be carried annually to the Capitol, attended by the senate and the sons of the nobility, singing in praise of the emperor's virtues. It was likewise ordained, that the day on which he was appointed to the empire should be called Pubitia; implying, that when he came to govern, the city received a new foundation.

But it had been happy for him and the empire, had such a beginning been as strenuously maintained. In less than eight months all this show of moderation and clemency vanished; while furious passions, unexampled avarice, and capricious cruelty, began to take their turn in his mind. As most of the cruelties of Tiberius arose from suspicion, so most of those committed by Caligula took rise from prodigality. Some, indeed, pretend to assert, that a disorder which happened soon after his accession to the empire, entirely distorted his reason, and discomposed his understanding. However this may be, madness itself could scarce dictate cruelties more extravagant, or inconsistencies more ridiculous, than are imputed to him; some of them appear almost beyond belief, as they seem entirely without any motive to incite to such barbarities.

The first object of his cruelty, and one that will scarcely be regretted by posterity, was a person named Politus, who had devoted himself to death, in case the emperor, who was then sick, should recover. When Caligula's health was re-established, he was informed of the zeal of Politus, and actually compelled him to complete his vow. This ridiculous devotee was, therefore, led round the city, by children adorned with chaplets, and then put to death, being thrown headlong from the ramparts. Another, named Secundus, had vowed to fight in the amphitheatre upon the same occasion. To this he was also compelled, the emperor himself choosing to be a spectator of

the combat. However, he was more fortunate than the former, being so successful as to kill his adversary, by which he obtained a release from his vow. Gemellus was the next who suffered from the tyrant's inhumanity. The pretence against him was, that he had wished the emperor might not recover, and that he had taken a counter-poison to secure him from any secret attempts against his life. Caligula ordered him to kill himself; but as the unfortunate youth was ignorant of the manner of doing it, the emperor's messengers soon instructed him in the fatal lesson. Silenus, the emperor's father-in-law, was the next that was put to death upon slight suspicions; and Grecinus, a senator of noted integrity, refusing to witness falsely against him, shared his fate. After followed a crowd of victims to the emperor's avarice or suspicion. The pretext against them was their enmity to his family; and in proof of his accusations he produced those very memorials which but a while before he pretended to have burnt. Among the number of those who were sacrificed to his jealousy, was Macro, the late favourite of Tiberius, and the person to whom Caligula owed his empire. He was accused of many crimes, some of which were common to the emperor, as well as to him, and his death brought on the ruin of that favourite's whole family.

These cruelties, however, only seemed the first fruits of a mind naturally timid and suspicious; his vanity and profusion soon gave rise to others

which were more atrocious, as they sprang from less powerful motives. His pride first began by assuming to himself the title of Ruler, which was usually granted only to kings. He would also have taken the crown and diadem, had he not been advised that he was already superior to all the monarchs of the world. Not long after he assumed divine honours, and gave himself the names of such divinities as he thought most agreeable to his nature. For this purpose he caused the heads of the statues of Jupiter and some other gods to be struck off, and his own to be put in their places. He frequently seated himself between Castor and Pollux, and ordered that all who came to their temple to worship, should pay their adorations only to him. However, such was the extravagant inconstancy of this unaccountable idiot, that he changed his divinity as often as he changed his clothes: being at one time a male deity, at another a female; sometimes Jupiter or Mars, and not unfrequently Venus or Diana. He even built and dedicated a temple to his own divinity, in which his statue of gold was every day dressed in similar robes to those which he himself wore, and was worshipped by crowds of adorers. His priests were numerous, the sacrifices made to him were of the most exquisite delicacies that could be procured, and the dignity of the priesthood was sought by the most opulent men in the city. However, he admitted his wife and his horse to that honour; and, to give a finishing stroke to his absurdities, he became a

priest to himself. His method of assuming the manners of a deity was not less ridiculous: he often went out in the full-moon, and courted it in the style of a lover. He often invited it to his bed, to taste the pleasures of his embraces. He employed many inventions to imitate thunder, and would frequently defy Jupiter, crying out with a speech of Homer, "Do you conquer me, "or I will conquer you." He frequently pretended to converse in whispers with the statue of Jupiter, and usually seemed angry at its replies; threatening to send it packing into Greece. Sometimes, however, he would assume a better temper, and seemed contented that they two should dwell together in amity.

A person so impious respecting the Deity, was still more criminal with regard to man. He was not less notorious for the depravation of his appetites, than for his ridiculous presumption. Neither person, place, nor sex, were obstacles to the indulgence of his unnatural lusts. There was scarce a lady of any quality in Rome that escaped his lewdness; and, indeed, such was the degeneracy of the times, that there were few ladies then who did not think this disgrace an honour. He committed incest with his three sisters, and at public feasts they lay with their heads upon his bosom by turns. Of these he prostituted Livia and Agrippina to his vile companions, and then banished them as adultresses and conspirators against his person. As for Drusilla, he took her from her husband Longinus, and kept her as his

wife. Her he loved so affectionately, that, being sick, he appointed her the heiress of his empire and fortune; and she happening to die before him, he made her a goddess. Nor did her example when living, appear more dangerous to the people than her divinity when dead. To mourn for her death was a crime, as she was become a goddess; and to rejoice for her deity was capital, because she was dead. Nay, even silence itself was an unpardonable insensibility, either of the emperor's loss or his sister's advancement. Thus he made his sister subservient to his profit, as before he had done to his pleasure; raising vast sums of money by granting pardons to some, and by confiscating the goods of others. As to his marriages, whether he contracted them with greater levity, or dissolved them with greater injustice, is not easy to determine. Being present at the nuptials of Livia Oristilla with Piso, as soon as the solemnity was over, he commanded her to be brought to him as his own wife, and then dismissed her in a few days. He soon after went so far as to banish her, upon suspicion of cohabiting with her husband after she was parted from him. He was enamoured of Lollia Paulina, upon a bare relation of her grandmother's beauty; and thereupon took her from her husband, who commanded in Macedonia; notwithstanding which, he repudiated her as he had done the former, and likewise forbade her future marrying with any other. The wife who caught his affections most was Milonia Cæsonia,

whose chief merit lay in her perfect acquaintance with all the alluring arts of her sex, for she was otherwise possessed neither of youth nor of beauty. She continued with him during his reign, and he loved her so ridiculously, that he sometimes showed her to his soldiers dressed in armour, and sometimes to his companions stark naked; so that his very regards were a reproach to those whom he wished to oblige.

His envy was still more detestable than his lusts. We are told that he put Caius to death for no other crime, than because he wore a purple gown, the lustre of which called off all the regards of the spectators from himself. He ordered several persons in the city to be shaved, for having hair more beautiful than ordinary. He ordered one Proculus, who was remarkable for his beauty and tallness of his stature, to descend into the amphitheatre, and to fight among the combatants as a gladiator. Proculus came off victorious, having vanquished two men one after the other. However, the tyrant was not satisfied with this punishment, but caused him to be bound and clothed in rags, and then to be led round the city and slain. Being present at the public games, where a particular gladiator succeeded with more than ordinary applause, he was so highly displeased that he flung himself out of the amphitheatre in a fury, crying out with great indignation, that the Romans gave more honour to a pitiful fencer than to the emperor himself.

But of all vices, his prodigality was the most remarkable, and that which in some measure gave rise to the rest. The luxuries of former emperors were simplicity itself, when compared to those which he practised. He contrived new ways of bathing, where the richest oils and most precious perfumes were exhausted with the utmost profusion. He found out dishes of immense value, and had even jewels, as we are told, dissolved among his sauces. He sometimes had services of pure gold presented before his guests instead of meat, observing, that a man should be an economist or an emperor.

The expensive manner in which he maintained his horse will give some idea of his domestic economy. He built it a stable of marble, and a manger of ivory. Whenever this animal, which he called Incitatus, was to run, he placed sentinels near its stable the night preceding, to prevent its slumbers from being broken. He appointed it a house, furniture, and a kitchen, in order to treat all its visitors with proper respect. The emperor sometimes invited Incitatus to his own table, presented it with gilt oats, and wine in a golden cup. He often swore by the safety of his horse; and it is said he would have appointed it to the consulship, had not his death prevented.

For several days together he flung considerable sums of money among the people. He ordered ships of a prodigious bulk to be built of cedar,

the sterns of ivory inlaid with gold and jewels, the sails and tackling of various silks, while the decks were planted with the choicest fruit-trees, under the shade of which he often dined. There, attended by all the ministers of his pleasures, the most exquisite singers, and the most beautiful youths, he coasted along the shore of Campania with great splendour. All his buildings seem rather calculated to raise astonishment than to answer the purposes of utility. He ordered houses to be built in the sea; he cut his way through rocks of prodigious bulk; he levelled mountains, and elevated plains and valleys. But the most notorious instance of his fruitless profusion was the vast bridge at Puteoli, which he undertook in the third year of his reign. To satisfy his desire of being master as well of the ocean as the land, he caused an infinite number of ships to be fastened to each other, so as to make a floating bridge from Baiæ to Puteoli, across an arm of the sea three miles and a half broad. The ships being placed in two rows, in form of a crescent, were secured to each other with anchors, chains, and cables. Over these were laid vast quantities of timber, and upon them earth, so as to make the whole resemble one of the streets of Rome. He next caused several houses to be built upon his new bridge, for the reception of himself and his attendants, into which fresh water was conveyed by pipes from the land. He then repaired thither with all his

court, attended by prodigious throngs of people, who came from all parts to be spectators of such an expensive pageant. It was there that Caligula, adorned with all the magnificence of eastern royalty, sitting on horseback with a civic crown and Alexander's breast-plate, attended by the great officers of the army, and all the nobility of Rome, entered at one end of the bridge, and with ridiculous importance rode to the other. At night, the number of torches and other illuminations with which this expensive structure was adorned, cast such a gleam as illuminated the whole bay and all the neighbouring mountains. This seemed to give the weak emperor new cause for exultation, boasting that he had turned night into day, as well as sea into land. The next morning he again rode over in a triumphal chariot, followed by a numerous train of charioteers, and all his soldiers in glittering armour. He then ascended a rostrum erected for the occasion, where he made a solemn oration in praise of the greatness of his enterprise, and the assiduity of his workmen and his army. He then distributed rewards among his men, and a splendid feast succeeded. However, there was still wanting something to mark the disposition of the mighty projector. In the midst of the entertainment many of his attendants were thrown into the sea; several ships, filled with spectators, were attacked and sunk in a hostile manner; and, although the majority escaped

through the calmness of the weather, yet many were drowned; and some, who endeavoured to save themselves by climbing up the bridge, were struck down again by the emperor's command. The calmness of the sea during this pageant, which continued two days, furnished Caligula with fresh opportunities for boasting; being heard to say, "that Neptune took care to keep "the sea smooth and serene, merely out of reve-"rence to himself."

Expences like these, it may naturally be supposed, must have exhausted the most unbounded wealth: in fact, after reigning about a year, Caligula found his revenues totally exhausted; and a fortune, of about eighteen millions of our money, which Tiberius had amassed together, entirely spent in extravagance and folly. Now, therefore, his prodigality put him upon new methods of supplying the exchequer; and, as before his profusion, so now his rapacity, became boundless. He put in practice all kinds of rapine and extortion; while his principal study seemed to be the inventing new imposts and illicit confiscations. Every thing was taxed, to the very wages of the meanest tradesman. He caused freedmen to purchase their freedom a second time, and poisoned many who had named him for their heir, to have the immediate possession of their fortunes. He set up a brothel in his own palace, by which he gained considerable sums by all the methods of prostitution.

He also kept a gaming-house, in which he himself presided, scrupling none of the mean tricks of that reptile race, in order to advance his gains. On a certain occasion, having had a run of ill luck, he saw two rich knights passing through his court, upon which he suddenly rose up, and causing both to be apprehended, confiscated their estates; and then joining his former companions, boasted that he never had a better throw in his life. Another time, wanting money for a stake, he went down, and caused several noblemen to be put to death, and then returning, told the company, that they sat playing for trifles, while he had won sixty thousand sesterces at a cast. Having had a daughter born, he complained openly of his poverty, and published an edict that he would receive whatever presents should be sent him, and actually stood in the portico of his palace to induce the people to be liberal in their donations.

These methods, however, were but subordinate to the cruelties by which he acquired immense sums. He slew many of the senate, and afterwards cited them to appear, as if they had killed themselves. He condemned many persons of the highest quality to dig in the mines, and to repair the highways, for offering to ridicule his profusion. He cast great numbers of old and infirm men and poor decrepit housekeepers to wild beasts, to free the state from such unserviceable citizens. He usually fed his wild beasts with the bodies of those wretches whom he con-

demned; and every tenth day, sent off numbers of them to be thus devoured, which he jocosely called clearing his accounts. One of those who was thus exposed, crying out that he was innocent, Caligula ordered his tongue to be cut out, and then thrown into the amphitheatre as before. He took delight in killing men with slow tortures, that, as he expressed it, they might feel themselves dying; being always present at such executions, himself directing the duration of the punishment, and mitigating the tortures, merely to prolong them. In fact, he valued himself for no quality more than this unrelenting temper and inflexible severity, which he preserved while presiding at an execution.

His barbarous attempts at wit in the midst of slaughter, sufficiently evince what little pain he felt from compassion. An eminent citizen, who for an indisposition had got leave to retire into the island Anticyra, which was a place famous for curing madness by hellebore, desiring to have his stay prolonged, Caligula ordered him to be put to death; adding, with a smile, that bleeding must certainly be useful to one who had so long taken hellebore without success. On putting a wrong person to death by mistake, upon finding his error, he said it was well done, for this criminal had doubtless deserved to die as well as the other. This horrid disposition never forsook him, even in the most festive hours: he frequently had men racked before him while he sat at meat, ironically pitying their misfortunes,

and blaming their executioner. He always desired to have the friends and relations of the sufferer to be present at these executions. Upon a certain occasion, one of them excusing himself upon account of sickness, the tyrant sent a litter to carry him. Whenever he kissed his wife or mistress, he generally laid his hand on her neck, observing, that, however smooth and lovely it was, he could take it off when he pleased. Demanding of one whom he had recalled from banishment, how he employed himself in his exile, being told that he had prayed for the death of Tiberius, Caligula immediately concluding that all whom he himself had banished wished for his death likewise, commanded that all exiles should be slain without mercy. At one time, being incensed with the citizens of Rome, he wished that all the Roman people had but one neck, that he might dispatch them at a blow.

Such insupportable and capricious cruelties produced many secret conspiracies against him; but these were for a while deferred, upon account of his intended expedition against the Germans and Britons, which he undertook in the third year of his reign. For this purpose, U. C.
he caused numerous levies to be made in 793.
all parts of the empire, and talked with so A. D.
much resolution, that it was universally 41.
believed he would conquer all before him. His march perfectly indicated the inequality of his temper: sometimes it was so rapid that the

cohorts were obliged to leave their standards behind them; at other times it was so slow, that it more resembled a pompous procession than a military expedition. In this disposition he would cause himself to be carried on eight men's shoulders, and order all the neighbouring cities to have their streets well swept and watered, to defend him from the dust. However, all these mighty preparations ended in nothing. Instead of conquering Britain, he only gave refuge to one of its banished princes; and this he described in his letter to the senate, as taking possession of the whole island. Instead of conquering Germany, he only led his army to the sea-shore, in Batavia. There, disposing his engines and warlike machines with great solemnity, and drawing up his men in order of battle, he went on board his galley, with which coasting along, he commanded his trumpets to sound, and the signal to be given as if for an engagement; upon which his men, having had previous orders, immediately fell to gathering the shells that lay upon the shore into their helmets, terming them the spoils of the conquered ocean, worthy of the palace and the Capitol. After this doughty expedition, calling his army together, as a general after victory, he harangued them in a pompous manner, and highly extolled their achievements, and then distributing money among them, dismissed them with orders to be joyful, and congratulated them upon their riches. But that such exploits should not pass without a memorial, he caused a lofty tower

to be erected by the sea-side, and ordered the galleys in which he had put to sea, to be conveyed to Rome, in a great measure by land.

After numberless instances of folly and cruelty in this expedition, among which he had intentions of destroying the whole army that had formerly mutinied under his father Germanicus, he began to think of a triumph. The senate, who had long been the timid ministers of his pride and cruelty, immediately set about consulting how to satisfy his expectations. They considered that a triumph would, even to himself, appear as a burlesque upon his expedition: they, therefore, decreed him only an ovation. Having come to this resolution, they sent him a deputation, informing him of the honours granted him, and the decree, which was drawn up in terms of the most extravagant adulation. However, their flattery was far from satisfying his pride. He considered their conduct rather as a diminution of his power, than an addition to his glory. He therefore ordered them, on pain of death, not to concern themselves with his honours; and being met by their messengers on the way, who invited him to come and partake of the preparations which the senate had decreed, he informed them that he would come; and then laying his hand upon his sword, added, that he would bring that also with him. In this manner, either quite omitting his triumph, or deferring it to another time, he entered the city only with an ovation: while the senate passed the

whole day in acclamations in his praise, and speeches filled with the most excessive flattery. This conduct in some measure served to reconcile him; and soon after, their excessive zeal in his cause entirely gained his favour. For it happened that Protogenes, who was one of the most intimate and most cruel of his favourites, coming into the house, was fawned upon by the whole body of the senate, and particularly by Proculus. Whereupon Protogenes, with a fierce look, asked how one who was such an enemy to the emperor could be such a friend to him? There needed no more to excite the senate against Proculus. They instantly seized upon him, and violently tore him in pieces; plainly showing by their conduct, that tyranny in the prince produces cruelty in those whom he governs.

It was after returning from his extravagant expedition, that he was waited on by a deputation from the Jews of Alexandria, who came to deprecate his anger, for not worshipping his divinity as other nations had done. He was employed in looking over some houses of pleasure, and giving directions to the workmen, when Philo the Jew, and the rest of the embassy, were admitted to an audience. Upon their approaching him with the most profound humility, he began by calling them enemies to the gods, and by asking them how they could refuse to acknowledge his divinity? Upon their replying that they had sacrificed hecatombs, both

upon his accession to the empire and his recovery from sickness, he replied, that those sacrifices were offered not to him, but for him. In the mean time, while they continued silently astonished at his impiety, he went from room to room, giving directions to his workmen concerning new improvements, and remarking such parts of the furniture as happened to displease him. He would now and then stop to ask some extravagant question. "What can be the reason," cried he, "that you Jews abstain from pork?" This question seemed so very lively to his attendants, that they burst into such loud fits of laughter, as obliged an officer who was present to reprimand them. Philo was willing to give him all the information he was able upon this head, and began by saying, that different nations had different customs; that, while the people of one religion abstained from pork, those of another never eat lamb. "Nor do I blame them," cried Caligula, "for lamb is very bad eating. But "tell me," continued he, "what pretensions "have you to be citizens of Alexandria?" Upon this, Philo began to enter into the business of his embassy; but he had scarce commenced, when Caligula abruptly left him, and ran into a large hall, the windows of which he ordered to be adorned with transparent stone, which was used by the ancients instead of glass. He then returned to the deputies, and assuming a more moderate air, "Well," cried he, "let me know "what you have to say in your defence." Philo

began his harangue where it had been interrupted before; but Caligula again left him in the midst of it, and gave orders for placing some pictures. Nothing can be a more striking picture than this, of the manner in which this monster attended to the complaints of mankind. This affair of the Jews remained undecided during his reign; but it was at last settled by his successor to their satisfaction. It was upon this occasion, that Philo made the following remarkable answer to his associates, who were terrified with apprehensions from the emperor's indignation: "Fear "nothing," cried he to them; "Caligula, by de- "claring against us, puts God on our side."

The continuation of this horrid reign seemed to threaten universal calamity: however, it was as short as it deserved to be. There had already been several conspiracies formed to destroy the tyrant, but without success. That which at last succeeded in delivering the world of this monster, was concerted under the influence of Cassius Cherea, tribune of the prætorian bands. This was a man of experienced courage; an ardent admirer of freedom; and consequently an enemy to tyrants. Besides the motives which he had in common with other men, he had received repeated insults from Caligula, who took all occasions of turning him into ridicule, and impeaching him of cowardice, merely because he happened to have an effeminate voice. Whenever Cherea came to demand the watch-word from the emperor, according to custom, he

always gave him either Venus, Adonis, or some such, implying effeminacy and softness. He, therefore, secretly imparted his designs to several senators and knights, whom he knew to have received personal injuries from Caligula, or to be apprehensive of those to come. Among the rest was Valerius Asiaticus, whose wife the emperor had debauched. Annius Vinicianus also, who was suspected of having been in a former conspiracy, was desirous of really engaging in the first design that offered. Besides these, were Clemens, the præfect; and Calistus, whose riches made him obnoxious to the tyrant's resentment.

While these were deliberating upon the most certain and speedy method of destroying the tyrant, an unexpected incident gave new strength to the conspiracy. Pompedius, a senator of distinction, having been accused before the emperor of having spoken of him with disrespect, the informer cited one Quintilia, an actress, to confirm his accusation. Quintilia, however, was possessed of a degree of fortitude not easily found, even in the other sex. She denied the fact with obstinacy; and being put to the torture, at the informer's request, she bore the severest torments of the rack with unshaken constancy. But what is most remarkable of her resolution is, that she was acquainted with all the particulars of the conspiracy; and, although Cherea was the person appointed to preside at her torture, she revealed nothing: on the contrary, when she was

led to the rack, she trod upon the toe of one of the conspirators, intimating at once her knowledge of the confederacy, and her own resolution not to divulge it. In this manner she suffered, until all her limbs were dislocated; and in that deplorable state was presented to the emperor, who ordered her a gratuity for what she had suffered. Cherea could now no longer contain his indignation, at being thus made the instrument of a tyrant's cruelty. He therefore proposed to the conspirators to attack him as he went to offer sacrifices in the Capitol; or while he was employed in the secret pleasures of his palace. The rest however were of opinion, that it was best to fall upon him when he should be unattended; by which means they would be more certain of their success. After several deliberations, it was at last resolved to attack him during the continuance of the Palatine games, which lasted four days; and to strike the blow when his guards should have the least opportunity to defend him. In consequence of this, the first three days of the games passed, without affording that opportunity which was so ardently desired. Cherea now, therefore, began to apprehend, that deferring the time of the conspiracy might be a means to divulge it: he even began to dread, that the honour of killing the tyrant might fall to the lot of some other person more bold than himself. Wherefore he at last resolved to defer the execution of his plot only to the day following,

when Caligula should pass through a private gallery, to some baths, not far distant from the palace.

The last day of the games was more splendid than the rest; and Caligula seemed more sprightly and condescending than usual. He took great amusement in seeing the people scramble for the fruits, and other rarities, thrown by his order among them; and seemed no way apprehensive of the plot formed for his destruction. In the mean time the conspiracy began to transpire; and, had he any friends left, it could not fail of being discovered. A senator who was present asking one of his acquaintance if he had heard any thing new; the other replying in the negative, "Then you must know," says he, "that this "day will be represented the death of a tyrant." The other immediately understood him, but desired him to be more cautious how he divulged a secret of so much importance. The conspirators waited a great part of the day with the most extreme anxiety; and, at one time, Caligula seemed resolved to spend the whole day without any refreshment. This unexpected delay entirely exasperated Cherea: and, had he not been restrained, he would have gone and perpetrated his design in the midst of all the people. Just at that instant, while he was yet hesitating what he should do, Asprenas, one of the conspirators, persuaded Caligula to go to the bath, and take some slight refreshment, in order to enjoy the rest of the entertainment with greater relish. The em-

peror, therefore, rising up, the conspirators used every precaution to keep off the throng, and to surround him, under pretence of greater assiduity. Upon entering into the little vaulted gallery that led to the bath, he was met by a band of Grecian children, who had been instructed in singing, and were come to perform in his presence. He was once more, therefore, going to return into the theatre with them, had not the leader of the band excused himself, as having a cold. This was the moment which Cherea seized to strike him to the ground; crying out, "Tyrant, think upon this." Immediately after, the other conspirators rushed in; and, while the emperor continued to resist, crying out, that he was not yet dead, they dispatched him with thirty wounds.

Such was the merited death of Caius Caligula, in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a short reign of three years, ten months, and eight days. It will be unnecessary to add any thing more to his character than what Seneca says of him: namely, that nature seemed to have brought him forth, to show what was possible to be produced from the greatest vice, supported by the greatest authority. His wit and eloquence are applauded by some; but what could be his taste in either, who condemned Virgil as a bad poet, and Livy as a wretched historian? With him his wife and infant daughter also perished; the one being stabbed by a centurion, the other having its brains dashed out against the wall. His money also

was melted down by a decree of the senate; and such precautions were taken, that all seemed willing, that neither his features nor his name might be transmitted to posterity.

M. MAHARAJA BEPFOO ... HAL

CHAPTER VI.

Claudius, the Fifth Emperor.

As soon as the death of Caligula was made public, it produced the greatest confusion in all parts of the city. The conspirators, who only aimed at destroying a tyrant, without attending to a successor, had all sought safety by retiring to private places. Some thought the report of the emperor's death was only an artifice of his own, to see how his enemies would behave. Others averred, that he was still alive, and actually in a fair way to recover. In this interval of torturing suspense, the German guards, finding it a convenient time to pillage, gave a loose to their licentiousness, under a pretence of revenging the emperor's death. All the conspirators and senators that fell in their way received no mercy: Asprenas, Norbanus, and Anteius, were cut in pieces. However their rage at length wanting an object to

U. C. 794.
A. D. 42.

wreak itself, and their service a master, they grew calm by degrees, and the senate was permitted to assemble, in order to deliberate upon what was necessary to be done in the present emergency.

In this deliberation, Saturninus, who was then consul, insisted much upon the benefits of liberty, and talked in raptures of Cherea's fortitude, alleging that it deserved the noblest reward. This was a language highly pleasing to the senate, who, being long harassed by the cruelty of tyrants, panted once more for the restoration of their former freedom. Liberty now became the favourite topic; and they even ventured to talk of extinguishing the very name of Cæsar. Impressed with this generous resolution, they brought over some cohorts of the city to their side, and boldly seized upon the Capitol. But it was now too late for Rome to regain her pristine freedom; the populace and the army opposed their endeavours. The former were still mindful of their ancient hatred to the senate, and remembered the donations and public spectacles of the emperors with regret. The latter were sensible they could have no power but in a monarchy; and had some hopes that the election of the emperor would fall to their determination. In this opposition of interest and variety of opinions, chance seemed at last to decide the fate of the empire. Some soldiers happening to run about the palace, discovered Claudius, Caligula's uncle, lurking in a secret place, where he had hid himself through fear. Of this personage, who had

hitherto been despised for his imbecility, they resolved to make an emperor; and accordingly carried him upon their shoulders to the camp, where they proclaimed him, at a time he expected nothing but death.

The senate now, therefore, perceiving that force alone was likely to settle the succession, were resolved to submit, since they had no power to oppose. Claudius was the person most nearly allied to the late emperor then living, being the nephew of Tiberius and the uncle of Caligula. The senate, therefore, passed a decree confirming him in the empire; and went soon after in a body to render him their compulsive homage. Cherea was the first who fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of this new monarch. He met death with all the fortitude of an ancient Roman, desiring to die by the same sword with which he had killed Caligula. Lupus, his friend, was put to death with him; and Sabinus, one of the conspirators, laid violent hands on himself.

Claudius was now fifty years old when he began to reign. The complicated diseases of his infancy had, in some measure, affected all the faculties both of his body and mind. He was continued in a state of pupilage much longer than was usual at that time; and seemed in every part of life incapable of conducting himself. Not that he was entirely destitute of understanding, since he had made a tolerable proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, and even wrote a history of his own time; which, however desti-

tute of other merit, was not contemptible in point of style. Nevertheless, with this share of erudition, he was unable to advance himself in the state, and seemed utterly neglected, till he was placed all at once at the head of affairs.

The commencement of his reign, as it was with all the other bad emperors, gave the most promising hopes of a happy continuance. He began by passing an act of oblivion for all former words and actions, and disannulled all the cruel edicts of Caligula. He showed himself more moderate than his predecessors with regard to titles and honours. He forbade all persons, upon severe penalties, to sacrifice to him, as they had done to Caligula. He was assiduous in hearing and examining complaints; and frequently administered justice in person; tempering by his mildness the severity of strict justice. We are told of his bringing a woman to acknowledge her son, by adjudging her to marry him. The tribunes of the people coming one day to attend him, when he was on his tribunal, he courteously excused himself for not having room for them to sit down. By this deportment he so much gained the affections of the people, that upon a vague report of his being slain by surprise, they ran about the streets in the utmost rage and consternation, with horrid imprecations against all such as were accessary to his death, nor could they be appeased till they were assured of his safety. He took a more than ordinary care that Rome should be con-

tinually supplied with corn and provisions, securing the merchants against pirates. He was not less assiduous in his buildings, in which he excelled almost all that went before him. He constructed a wonderful aqueduct, called after his own name, much surpassing any other in Rome, either for workmanship or plentiful supply. It brought water from forty miles' distance, through great mountains and over deep valleys, being built on stately arches, and furnishing the highest parts of the city. He made also a haven at Ostia, a work of such immense expence, that his successors were unable to maintain it. But his greatest work of all was, the draining the late Fucinus, which was the largest in Italy, and bringing its water into the Tiber, in order to strengthen the current of that river. For effecting this, among other vast difficulties, he mined through a mountain of stone three miles broad, and kept thirty thousand men employed for eleven years together.

To this solicitude for the internal advantages of the state, he added that of a watchful guardianship over the provinces. He restored Judea to Herod Agrippa, which Caligula had taken from Herod Antipas, his uncle, the man who had put John the Baptist to death, and who was banished by order of the present emperor. Claudius also restored such princes to their kingdoms as had been unjustly dispossessed by his predecessors; but deprived the Lycians and Rhodians of their

liberty, for having promoted insurrections, and crucified some citizens of Rome.

He even undertook to gratify the people by foreign conquest. The Britons, who had for near a hundred years been left in sole possession of their own island, began to seek the mediation of Rome to quell their intestine commotions. The principal man who desired to subject his native country to the Roman dominion, was one Bericus, who by many arguments persuaded the emperor to make a descent upon the island, magnifying the advantages that would attend the conquest of it. In pursuance of his advice, therefore, Plautius, the prætor, was ordered to pass over into Gaul, and make preparations for this great expedition. At first, indeed, his soldiers seemed backward to embark, declaring that they were unwilling to make war beyond the limits of the world, for so they judged Britain to be. However, they were at last persuaded to go; and the Britons, under the conduct of their king Cynobelinus, were several times overthrown.

A. D. 46. These successes soon after induced Claudius to go into Britain in person, upon pretence that the natives were still seditious, and had not delivered up some Roman fugitives who had taken shelter among them. However, his expedition rather seemed calculated for show than service; the time he continued in Britain, which was in all but sixteen days, was more taken up

in receiving homage than extending his conquests. Great rejoicings were made upon his return to Rome: the senate decreed him a splendid triumph; triumphal arches were erected to his honour, and annual games instituted to commemorate his victories. In the mean time, the war was vigorously prosecuted by Plautius and his lieutenant Vespasian, who, according to Suetonius, fought thirty battles with the enemy, and by that means reduced a part of the island into the form of a Roman province. However, this war broke out afresh under the government of Ostorius, who succeeded Plautius. A. D. 51. The Britons, either despising him for want of experience, or hoping to gain advantages over a person newly come to command, rose up in arms, and disclaimed the Roman power. The Iceni, the Cangi, and the Brigantes, made a powerful resistance, though they were at length overcome; but the Silures, or inhabitants of South Wales, under their king Caractacus, were the most formidable opponents the Roman generals had ever yet encountered. This brave barbarian not only made a gallant defence, but often seemed to claim a doubtful victory. He, with great conduct, removed the seat of war into the most inaccessible parts of the country, and for nine years kept the Romans in continual alarm.

This general, however, upon the approach of Ostorius, finding himself obliged to come to a decisive engagement, addressed his countrymen with calm resolution; telling them that this

battle would either establish their liberty or confirm their servitude: that they ought to remember the bravery of their ancestors, by whose valour they were delivered from taxes and tribunes, and that this was the time to show themselves equal to their progenitors. Nothing, however, that undisciplined valour could perform, could avail against the conduct of the Roman legions. After an obstinate fight, the Britons were entirely routed; the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners; and he himself, seeking refuge from Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, was treacherously delivered up to the conquerors. When he was brought to Rome, nothing could exceed the curiosity of the people to behold a man who had for so many years braved the power of the empire. On his part, he testified no marks of base dejection; but, as he was led through the streets, happening to observe the splendour of every object around him: "Alas!" cried he, "how is it possible, that people possessed of such magnificence at home, could think of envying Caractacus an humble cottage in Britain!" When he was brought before the emperor, while the other captives sued for pity with the most abject lamentations, Caractacus stood before the tribunal with an intrepid air, and seemed rather willing to accept of pardon, than meanly solicitous of suing for it. "If," cried he, towards the end of his speech, "I had yielded immediately, and without opposition, neither my fortune would have been

"remarkable, nor your glory memorable; you "would have ceased to be victorious, and I had "been forgotten. If now, therefore, you spare "my life, I shall continue a perpetual example "of your clemency." Claudius had the generosity to pardon him; and Ostorius was decreed a triumph, which, however, he did not live to enjoy. Though the Britons were thus humbled, they were by no means entirely subdued: several new revolts ensued; but the natives being weakened by dissensions among each other, were many times overthrown, and more easily kept under. These transactions in Britain continued during the whole reign of Claudius; his first expedition into Britain was in the second year of his reign, and the victory over Caractacus in the tenth. I have thrown them, however, into one point of view, to avoid the interrupting the narrative.

Claudius, as I have said, gave, in the beginning of his reign, the highest hopes of a happy continuance; but he soon began to lessen his care for the public, and to commit to his favourites all the concerns of the empire. This weak prince had from his infancy been in a state of pupilage; and now, when called to govern, he was unable to act but under the direction of others. Men of narrow capacities and feeble minds are only good or evil, as they happen to fall into the hands of virtuous or vicious guides; and, unhappily for him, his directors were, to the last degree, abandoned and infamous. The

chief of these was his wife, Messalina, whose name is almost become a common appellation to women of abandoned characters. However, she was not less remarkable for her cruelties than her lusts, as by her intrigues she destroyed many of the most illustrious families of Rome. Subordinate to her were the emperor's freedmen; Pallas, the treasurer; Narcissus, the secretary of state; and Callistus, the master of the requests. These entirely governed Claudius, so that he was only left the fatigues of ceremony, while they were possessed of all the power of the state.

It would be tedious to enumerate the various cruelties which these insidious advisers obliged the feeble emperor to commit; those against his own family will suffice. Appius Silanus, a person of great merit, who had been married to the emperor's mother-in-law, was put to death upon the suggestions of Messalina. After him he slew both his sons-in-law, Silanus and Pompey, and his two nieces, the Livias, one the daughter of Drusus, the other of Germanicus; and all without permitting them to plead in their defence, or even without assigning any cause for his displeasure. Great numbers of others fell a sacrifice to the jealousy of Messalina and her minions, who bore so great a sway in the state, that all offices, dignities, and governments, were entirely at their disposal. Every thing was put to sale: they took money for pardons and penalties; and accumulated, by these means, such

vast sums, that the wealth of Crassus was considered as nothing in comparison. One day, the emperor complaining that his exchequer was exhausted, he was ludicrously told, that it might be sufficiently replenished, if his two freedmen would take him into partnership. Still, however, during such immense strides of corruption, he regarded his favourites with the highest esteem, and even solicited the senate to grant them peculiar marks of their approbation. These disorders in the ministers of government did not fail to produce conspiracies against the emperor. Statius Corvinus and Gallus Assinus formed a conspiracy against him. Two knights, whose names are not told us, privately combined to assassinate him. But the revolt which gave him the greatest uneasiness, and which was punished with the most unrelenting severity, was that of Camillus, his lieutenant-governor in Dalmatia. This general, incited by many of the principal men of Rome, openly rebelled against him, and assumed the title of emperor. Nothing could exceed the terrors of Claudius, upon being informed of this revolt: his nature and his crimes had disposed him to be more cowardly than the rest of mankind; so that when Camillus commanded him by his letters relinquish the empire, and retire to a private station, he seemed inclined to obey. Notwithstanding, his fears upon this account were soon removed; for the legions which had declared for Camillus being terrified by some remarkable prodigies, shortly

after abandoned him; so that the man whom but five days before they had acknowledged as emperor, they now thought it no infamy to destroy. The cruelty of Messalina and her minions, upon this occasion, seemed to have no bounds. They so wrought upon the emperor's fears and suspicions, that numbers were executed without trial or proof; and scarce any, even of those who were but suspected, escaped, unless by ransoming their lives with their fortunes.

Among the number who were put to death on this occasion, I cannot omit mentioning the pathetic catastrophe of Petus and his faithful wife Arria. Cecina Petus was one of those unfortunate men who joined with Camillus against the emperor, and who, when his associate was slain by the army, had endeavoured to escape into Dalmatia. However, he was there apprehended, and put on board a ship in order to be conveyed to Rome. Arria, who had been long the partner of his affections and misfortunes, entreated his keepers to be taken in the same vessel with her husband. "It is usual," she said, "to grant a man of his quality a few slaves, to "dress, undress, and attend him; I myself will "perform all these offices, and save you the trou-"ble of a more numerous retinue." Her fidelity, however, could not prevail. She therefore hired a fisherman's bark, and thus kept company with the ship in which her husband was conveyed through the voyage. They had an only son, equally remarkable for the beauty of his person

and the rectitude of his disposition. This youth died at the time his father was confined to his bed by a dangerous disorder. However, the affectionate Arria concealed her son's death, and in her visits to her husband testified no marks of sadness. Being asked how her son did, she replied that he was at rest, and only left her husband's chamber to give a vent to her tears. When Petus was condemned to die, and the orders were that he should put an end to his own life, Arria used every art to inspire him with resolution; and at length, finding him continue timid and wavering, she took the poignard, and stabbing herself in his presence, presented it to him, saying, "It gives me no pain, my Petus."

By such cruelties as these, the favourites of the emperor endeavoured to establish his and their own authority; but in order to increase the necessity of their assistance, they laboured to augment the greatness of his terrors. He now became a prey to jealousy and disquietude. Being one day in the temple, and finding a sword that was left there by accident, he convened the senate in a fright, and informed them of his danger. After this he never ventured to go to any feast without being surrounded by his guards, nor would he suffer any man to approach him without a previous search. Thus wholly employed by his anxiety for self-preservation, he entirely left the care of the state to his favourites, who by degrees gave him a relish for slaughter. From this time, he seemed delighted with inflict-

ing tortures; and on a certain occasion continued a whole day at the city Tibur, waiting for a hangman from Rome, that he might feast his eyes with an execution in the manner of the ancients. Nor was he less regardless of the persons he condemned, than cruel in the infliction of their punishment. Such was his extreme stupidity, that he would frequently invite those to supper whom he had put to death but the day before; and often denied the having given orders for an execution, but a few hours after pronouncing sentence. Suetonius assures us, that there were no less than thirty-five senators, and above three hundred knights, executed in his reign; and that such was his unconcern in the midst of slaughter, that one of his tribunes bringing him an account of a certain senator who was executed, he quite forgot his offence, but calmly acquiesced in his punishment.

In this manner was Claudius urged on by Messalina to commit cruelties, which he considered only as wholesome severities, while in the mean time she put no bounds to her enormities. The impunity of her past vices only increasing her confidence to commit new, her debaucheries now became every day more notorious, and her lewdness exceeded what had ever been seen in Rome. She chose her paramours through wantonness, and then sacrificed them through caprice. She caused some women of the first quality to commit adultery in the presence of their husbands, and destroyed such as refused to comply.

After appearing for some years insatiable in her desires, she at length fixed her affections upon Caius Silius, the most beautiful youth in Rome. As all her passions were in extreme, her love for this young Roman seemed to amount even to madness. She obliged him to divorce his wife Junia Syllana, that she might entirely possess him herself. She obliged him to accept of immense treasures and valuable presents, cohabiting with him in the most open manner, and treating him with the most shameless familiarity. The very imperial ornaments were transferred to his house, and the emperor's slaves and attendants had orders to wait upon the adulterer. Nothing was wanting to complete the insolence of their conduct, but their being married together, and that was soon after effected. They relied upon the emperor's imbecility for security, and only waited till he retired to Ostia to put their ill-judged project into execution. In his absence they celebrated their nuptials with all the ceremonies and splendour which attend the most confident security. Messalina, giving a loose to her passion, appeared as a Bacchanalian with a thyrsus in her hand; while Silius assumed the character of Bacchus, his body being adorned with robes imitating ivy, and his legs covered with buskins. A troop of singers and dancers attended, who heightened the revel with the most lascivious songs and the most indecent attitudes. In the midst of this riot, one Valens, a buffoon, is said to have climbed a tree; and being de-

manded what he saw, answered that he perceived a dreadful storm coming from Ostia. What this fellow spoke at random, was actually at that time in preparation. It seems that some time before, as the friendships of the vicious are always of short duration, there had been a quarrel between Messalina and Narcissus, the emperor's first freedman. This subtile minister, therefore, desired nothing more than an opportunity of ruining the empress; and he judged this to be a most favourable occasion. He first made the discovery by means of two concubines who attended the emperor, who were instructed to inform him of Messalina's marriage, as the news of the day, while Narcissus himself stepped in to confirm their information. Finding that it operated upon the emperor's fears as he could wish, he resolved to alarm him still more by a discovery of all Messalina's projects and attempts. He aggravated the danger, and urged the expediency of speedily punishing the delinquents. Claudius, quite terrified at so unexpected a relation, supposed that the enemy was already at his gates, and frequently interrupted his freedman, by asking if he was still master of the empire. Being assured that he yet had it in his power to continue so, he resolved to go and punish the affront offered to his dignity without delay. Nothing could exceed the consternation of Messalina and her thoughtless companions, upon being informed that the emperor was coming to disturb their festivity. Every one

retired in the utmost confusion. Silius was taken. Messalina took shelter in some gardens formerly belonging to Lucullus, but which she had lately seized upon, having expelled Asiaticus the true owner, and put him to death. From thence she sent Britannicus, her only son by the emperor, with Octavia her daughter, to intercede for her, and implore his mercy. She soon after followed them herself: but Narcissus had so fortified the emperor against her arts, and contrived such methods of diverting his attention from her defence, that she was obliged to retire in despair. Narcissus being thus far successful, led Claudius to the house of the adulterer, there showed him the apartments adorned with the spoils of his own palace; and then conducting him to the prætorian camp, revived his courage by giving him assurances of the readiness of the soldiers to defend him. Having thus artfully wrought upon his fears and resentment, the wretched Silius was commanded to appear, who making no defence, was instantly put to death in the emperor's presence. Several others shared the same fate, but Messalina still flattered herself with hopes of pardon. She resolved to leave neither prayers nor tears unattempted to appease the emperor. She sometimes even gave a loose to her resentment, and threatened her accusers with vengeance. Nor did she want ground for entertaining the most favourable expectations. Claudius having returned from the execution of her paramour, and having allayed his resentment in a

banquet, began to relent. He now, therefore, commanded his attendants to apprise that miserable creature, meaning Messalina, of his resolution to hear her accusation the next day, and ordered her to be in readiness with her defence. The permission to defend herself would have been fatal to Narcissus; wherefore he rushed out, and ordered the tribunes and centurions who were in readiness, to execute her immediately by the emperor's command. Upon their arrival at the gardens, where she still continued, they found her stretched upon the ground, attended by her mother Lepida, who exhorted her to prevent her punishment by a voluntary death. But this unfortunate woman was too much softened by luxury, to be able to face death without terror. Instead of fortifying her resolution to meet the blow, she only gave way to tears and unpitied distress. At length, taking a sword from one of the soldiers, she put it to her breast; but her fears still prolonging the blow, the tribune ran her through the body, and so dispatched her. Claudius was immediately informed of her death in the midst of his banquet; but this insensible idiot showed not the least appearance of emotion. He continued at table with his usual tranquillity, while neither the love he bore her, the joy of her accusers, nor the sorrow of his children, had the least effect upon his temper. As a proof, however, that this proceeded rather from stupidity than fortitude, the day following, while he was sitting at table, he asked why Messalina was ab-

sent, as if he had totally forgotten her crimes and her punishment.

Claudius, being now a widower, declared publicly, that as he had been hitherto unfortunate in his marriages, he would remain single for the future, and that he would be contented to forfeit his life, in case he broke his resolution. However, the resolutions of Claudius were but of short continuance. Having been accustomed to live under the control of women, his present freedom was become irksome to him, and he was entirely unable to live without a director. His freedmen, therefore, perceiving his inclinations, resolved to procure him another wife; and, after some deliberation, they fixed upon Agrippina, the daughter of his brother Germanicus. This woman was more practised in vice than even the former empress. Her cruelties were more dangerous, as they were directed with greater caution: she had poisoned her former husband, to be at liberty to attend the calls of ambition; and perfectly acquainted with all the infirmities of Claudius, only made use of his power to advance her own. However, as the late declaration of Claudius seemed to be an obstacle to his marrying again, persons were suborned to move in the senate, that he should be compelled to take a wife, as a matter of great importance to the commonwealth; and some more determined flatterers than the rest, left the house, as with a thorough resolution, that instant, to constrain him. When this decree (by which

also incestuous marriages were made lawful) past in the senate, Claudius had scarce patience to contain himself a day before the celebration of his nuptials. But such was the detestation in which the people in general held these incestuous matches, that, though they were made lawful, yet only one of his tribunes and one of his freedmen were found base enough to follow his example.

Claudius having now received a new director, submitted with more implicit obedience than in any former part of his reign. Agrippina's chief aims were to gain the succession in favour of her own son Nero, and to set aside the claims of young Britannicus, son to the emperor and Messalina. For this purpose she married Nero to the emperor's daughter Octavia, a few days after her own marriage. Not long after this, she urged the emperor to strengthen the succession, in imitation of his predecessors, by making a new adoption, and advised him to take in her son Nero, in some measure to divide the fatigues of government. The feeble prince, who had no discernment nor malice but what were infused into him, immediately yielded to her persuasions, and adopted Nero in preference to his only son Britannicus. Her next care was to increase her son's popularity, by giving him Seneca for a tutor. This excellent man, by birth a Spaniard, had been banished into the island of Corsica by Claudius, upon the false testimony of Messalina, who had accused him of adultery with Julia,

the emperor's niece. The people loved and admired him for his genius, but still more for his strict morality; and a part of his reputation therefore necessarily devolved to his pupil. This subtle woman was not less assiduous in pretending the utmost affection for Britannicus; whom, however, she resolved at a proper time to destroy: but her jealousy was not confined to this child only; she, shortly after her accession, procured the deaths of several ladies who had been her rivals in the emperor's affections. She displaced the captain of the guards, and appointed Burrhus to that command; a person of great military knowledge, and strongly attached to her interests. From that time, she took less pains to disguise her power, and frequently entered the Capitol in a chariot; a privilege which none before were allowed, except those of the sacerdotal order. U. C. 790. A. D. 38.

In the twelfth year of this monarch's reign, she persuaded him to restore liberty to the Rhodians, of which he had deprived them some years before; and to remit the taxes of the citizens of Ilium, as having been the progenitors of Rome. Her design in this was to increase the popularity of Nero, who pleaded the cause of both with great approbation. Thus did this ambitious woman take every step to aggrandize her son, and was even contented to become hateful herself to the public, merely to increase his popularity. Being one day told by an astrologer, that he would be emperor, and yet the cause of

her death; "Let him kill me," answered she, "provided he but reigns." *Occidat dum imperat.*

Such a very immoderate abuse of her power, served at last to awaken the emperor's suspicions. Agrippina's imperious temper began to grow insupportable to him; and he was heard to declare, when heated with wine, that it was his fate to suffer the disorders of his wives, and to be their executioner. This expression sunk deep in her mind, and engaged all her faculties to prevent the blow. Her first care was to remove Narcissus, whom she hated upon many accounts, but particularly for his attachment to Claudius. This minister, for some time, opposed her designs; but at length thought fit to retire by a voluntary exile into Campania. The unhappy emperor, thus exposed to all the machinations of his insidious consort, seemed entirely regardless of the dangers that threatened his destruction. His affections for Britannicus were perceived every day to increase, and served also to increase the vigilance of Agrippina, and add stings to her jealousy. She now, therefore, resolved not to defer a crime which she had meditated a long while before; namely, that of poisoning her husband. She for some time, however, debated with herself in what manner she should administer the poison; as she feared too strong a dose would discover her treachery, and one too weak might fail of its effect. At length she determined upon a poison of singular efficacy to de-

stroy his intellects, and yet not suddenly to terminate his life. As she had been long conversant in this horrid practice, she applied to a woman called Locusta, notorious for assisting on such occasions. The poison was given the emperor among mushrooms, a dish he was particularly fond of. Shortly after having eaten, he dropped down insensible; but this caused no alarm, as it was usual with him to sit eating till he had stupefied all his faculties, and was obliged to be carried off to his bed from the table. However, his constitution seemed to overcome the effects of the potion, when Agrippina resolved to make sure of him; wherefore she directed a wretched physician, who was her creature, to thrust a poisoned feather down his throat, under pretence of making him vomit, and this dispatched him.

The reign of this emperor, feeble and impotent as he was, produced no great calamities in the state, since his cruelties were chiefly levelled at those about his person. The list of the inhabitants of Rome at this time amounted to six million eight hundred and forty-four thousand souls; a number equal, perhaps, to all the people of England at this day. In such a concourse, it is not to be doubted but every virtue and every vice must come to their highest pitch of refinement; and, in fact, the conduct of Seneca seems an instance of the former, and that of Messalina of the latter. However, the general character of the times was that of corruption and luxury;

for wherever there is a great superfluity of wealth, there will also be seen a thousand vicious modes of exhausting it. The military spirit of Rome, though much relaxed from its former severity, still continued to awe mankind; and though during this reign, the world might be justly said to be without a head, yet the terror of the Roman name alone kept mankind in their obedience.

CHAPTER VII.

Nero, the Sixth Emperor.

U. C. 793. A. D. 41. CLAUDIUS being destroyed, Agrippina took every precaution to conceal his death from the public, until she had settled her measures for securing the succession. A strong guard was placed at all the avenues of the palace, while she amused the people with various reports; one time giving out that he was still alive; at another, that he was recovering. In the mean while, she made sure of the person of young Britannicus, under pretence of affection for him. Like one overcome with the extremity of her grief, she held the child in her arms, calling him the dear image of his father, and thus preventing his escape. She used the

same precautions with regard to his sisters, Octavia and Antonia; and even ordered an entertainment in the palace, as if to amuse the emperor. At last, when all things were adjusted, the palace-gates were thrown open; and Nero, accompanied by Burrhus, præfect of the prætorian guards, issued to receive the congratulations of the people and the army. The cohort then attending, proclaimed him with the loudest acclamations, though not without making some enquiries after Britannicus. He was carried in a chariot to the rest of the army; where, having made a speech proper for the occasion, and promising them a donation, in the manner of his predecessors, he was declared emperor by the army, the senate, and the people.

Nero's first care was to show all possible respect to the deceased emperor, in order to cover the guilt of his death. His obsequies were performed with a pomp equal to that of Augustus; the young emperor pronounced his funeral oration; and he was canonized among the gods who scarce deserved the name of man. The funeral oration, though spoken by Nero, was drawn up by Seneca; and it was remarked, that this was the first time a Roman emperor needed the assistance of another's eloquence.

Nero, though but seventeen years of age, began his reign with the general approbation of mankind. As he owed the empire to Agrippina, so, in the beginning, he submitted to her directions with the most implicit obedience. On her

part, she seemed resolved on governing with her natural ferocity, and considered her private animosities as the only rule to guide her in public justice. Immediately after the death of Claudius, she caused Silanus, the proconsul of Asia, to be assassinated upon very light suspicions, and without ever acquainting the emperor with her design. The next object of her resentment was Narcissus, the late emperor's favourite; a man equally notorious for the greatness of his wealth and the number of his crimes. He was obliged to put an end to his life, by Agrippina's order, although Nero refused his consent.

This bloody outset would have been followed by many severities of the same nature, had not Seneca and Burrhus, the emperor's tutor and general, opposed. These worthy men, although they owed their rise to the empress, were above being the instruments of her cruelty. They therefore combined together in an opposition, and gaining the young emperor on their side, formed a plan of power, at once the most merciful and wise. The beginning of this monarch's reign, while he continued to act by their counsels, has always been considered as a model for succeeding princes to govern by. The famous emperor Trajan used to say, "that for the first "five years of this prince, all other governments "came short of his." In fact, the young monarch knew so well how to conceal his innate depravity, that his nearest friends could scarce perceive his virtues to be assumed. He appeared

just, liberal, and humane. When a warrant for the execution of a criminal was brought him to be signed, he was heard to cry out, with seeming concern, "Would to Heaven that I had "never learned to write." The senate, upon a certain occasion, giving him their applause for the regularity and justice of his administration, he replied with singular modesty, "that they "should defer their thanks till he had deserved "them." His condescension and affability were not less than his other virtues; so that the Romans began to think, that Heaven had sent them a prince, whose clemency would compensate for the tyranny of his predecessors.

In the mean time Agrippina, who was excluded from any share in government, attempted, by every possible method, to maintain her declining power. Perceiving that her son had fallen in love with a freedwoman, named Acte, and dreading the influence of a concubine, she tried every art to prevent his growing passion. However, in so corrupt a court, it was no difficult matter for the emperor to find other confidants ready to assist him in his wishes. The gratification of his passion, therefore, in this instance, only served to increase his hatred for the empress. Nor was it long before he gave evident marks of his disobedience, by displacing Pallas, her chief favourite. It was upon this occasion, that she first perceived the total declension of her authority, which threw her into the most ungovernable fury. In order to give terror to

her rage, she proclaimed that Britannicus, the real heir to the throne, was still living, and in a condition to receive his father's empire, which was now possessed by an usurper. She threatened to go to the camp, and there expose his baseness and her own, invoking all the furies to her assistance. These menaces served to alarm the suspicions of Nero; who, though apparently guided by his governors, yet already began to give way to his natural depravity. He therefore determined upon the death of Britannicus, and contrived to have him poisoned at a public banquet. Agrippina, however, still retained her natural ferocity; she took every opportunity of obliging and flattering the tribunes and centurions; she heaped up treasures, with a rapacity beyond her natural avarice; all her actions seemed calculated to raise a faction, and make herself formidable to the emperor. Whereupon, Nero commanded her German guard to be taken from her, and obliged her to lodge out of the palace. He also forbid particular persons from visiting her, and went himself but rarely and ceremoniously to pay her his respects. She now, therefore, began to find that, with the emperor's favour, she had lost the assiduity of her friends. She was even accused by Syllana of conspiring against her son, and of designing to marry Plautius, a person descended from Augustus, and of making him emperor. A short time after, Pallas, her favourite, together with Burrhus, were arraigned for a similar offence, and intending to

set up Cornelius Sylla. These informations being proved void of any foundation, the informers were banished; a punishment which was considered as very inadequate to the greatness of their offences.

As Nero increased in years, his crimes seemed to increase in equal proportion. He now began to find a pleasure in running about the city by night, disguised like a slave. In this vile habit he entered taverns and brothels, attended by the lewd ministers of his pleasures, attempting the lives of such as opposed him, and frequently endangering his own. In imitation of the emperor's example, numbers of profligate young men infested the streets likewise; so that every night the city was filled with tumult and disorder. However, the people bore all these levities, which they ascribed to the emperor's youth, with patience; having occasion every day to experience his liberality, and having also been gratified by the abolition of many of their taxes. The provinces also were no way affected by these riots; for, except some disturbances on the side of the Parthians, which were soon suppressed, they enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity.

But those sensualities, which, for the first four years of his reign, produced but few disorders, in the fifth became alarming. He first began to transgress the bounds of decency, by publicly abandoning Octavia, his present wife, and then by taking Poppea, the wife of his favourite Otho, a woman more celebrated for her beauty

than her virtues. This was another grating circumstance to Agrippina, who vainly used all her interest to disgrace Poppea, and reinstate herself in her son's lost favour. Historians assert, that she even offered to satisfy his passions herself, by an incestuous compliance; and that, had not Seneca interposed, the son would have joined in the mother's crime. This, however, does not seem probable, since we find Poppea victorious, soon after, in the contention of interests; and at last impelling Nero to parricide, to satisfy her revenge. She began her arts by urging him to divorce his present wife, and marry her: she reproached him as a pupil, who wanted not only power over others, but liberty to direct himself. She insinuated the dangerous designs of Agrippina; and, by degrees, accustomed his mind to reflect upon parricide without horror. His cruelties against his mother began rather by several circumstances of petty malice, than by any downright injury. He encouraged several persons to tease her with litigious suits; he employed some of the meanest of the people to sing satirical songs against her under her windows. At last, finding these ineffectual in breaking her spirit, he resolved on putting her to death. His first attempt was by poison; but this, though twice repeated, proved ineffectual, as she had fortified her constitution against it by antidotes. This failing, a ship was contrived in so artificial a manner, as to fall to pieces in the water, on board of which she was invited to sail to the

coasts of Calabria. However, this plot was as ineffectual as the former: the mariners not being all apprised of the secret, disturbed each other's operations; so that the ship not sinking as readily as was expected, Agrippina found means to continue swimming, till she was taken up by some trading vessels passing that way. Nero thus finding that all his machinations were discovered, resolved to throw off the mask, and put her openly to death without further delay. He therefore caused a report to be spread, that she had conspired against him; and a poignard was dropped at his feet, by one who pretended a command from Agrippina to assassinate him. In consequence of this, he applied to his governors, Seneca and Burrhus, for their advice how to act, and their assistance in ridding him of the object of his fears. Things were now come to such a crisis, that no middle way could be taken, and either Nero or Agrippina was to fall. Seneca, therefore, kept a profound silence; while Burrhus, with more resolution, refused to be the perpetrator of so great a crime; alleging, that the army was entirely devoted to all the descendants of Cæsar, and would never be brought to imbrue their hands in the blood of any of his family. In this embarrassment, Anicetus, the contriver of the ship above-mentioned, offered his services, which Nero accepted with the greatest joy, crying out, "that this was the first "moment he ever found himself an emperor." This freedman, therefore, taking with him a

body of soldiers, surrounded the house of Agrippina, and then forced open her doors. He next seized upon every slave he met, until he came near the chamber where Agrippina lay. In the mean time, Agrippina, who strove to conceal her consciousness of Nero's designs, continued anxiously expecting the return of a messenger, whom she had sent with an account of her escape. However, perceiving a sudden stillness without, among the crowds that had, but a few moments before, been loud in their congratulations, she asked the cause, and demanded of the slave who attended her, if her emissary were returned? While she yet continued speaking, the slave disappeared, and Anicetus entered the apartment, accompanied by two soldiers, in whose looks she read her fate. She still, however, preserved presence of mind sufficient to ask the cause of their coming. "If," cried she, "you come to inquire after my health, you may "inform the emperor that I am better; but if "you come with any worse intention, you alone, "and not my son, must be guilty." To this the executioners made no reply, but one of them dashed his club at her head, which, nevertheless, did not dispatch her. Now, therefore, finding that she was to expect no mercy, and seeing Anicetus draw his sword to stab her, she presented her bosom, crying out, "Strike here, for "this place gave birth to a monster." The executioners having dispatched her with several wounds, left her dead on the couch, and went

to inform Nero of what they had done. Some historians say, that Nero came immediately to view the body; that he continued to gaze upon it with pleasure, commending some parts, and dispraising others; and ending his horrid survey, by coolly observing, that he never thought his mother had been so handsome. However this be, he vindicated his conduct next day to the senate, who not only excused, but applauded his impiety.

All the mounds of virtue being thus broken down, Nero now gave a loose to his appetites, that were not only sordid, but inhuman. There seemed an odd contrast in his disposition; for while he practised cruelties which were sufficient to make the mind shudder with horror, he was fond of those amusing arts that soften and refine the heart. He was particularly addicted, even from childhood, to music, and not totally ignorant of poetry. But chariot-driving was his favourite pursuit. He never missed the circus, when chariot-races were to be exhibited there; appearing at first privately, and soon after publicly; till at last his passion increasing by indulgence, he was not content with being merely a spectator, but resolved to become one of the principal performers. His governors, however, did all in their power to restrain this perverted ambition; but finding him resolute, they enclosed a space of ground in the valley of the Vatican, where he first exhibited only to some chosen spectators, but shortly after invited

the whole town. The praises of his flattering subjects only stimulated him still more to these unbecoming pursuits; so that he now resolved to assume a new character, and to appear as a singer upon the stage.

His passion for music, as was observed, was no less natural to him than the former; but as it was less manly, so he endeavoured to defend it by the example of some of the most celebrated men, who practised it with the same fondness. He had been instructed in the principles of this art from his childhood; and, upon his advancement to the empire, he had put himself under the most celebrated masters. He patiently submitted to their instructions, and used all those methods which singers practise, either to mend the voice, or improve its volubility. Yet, notwithstanding all his assiduity, his voice was but a wretched one, being both feeble and unpleasant. However, he was resolved to produce it to the public, such as it was; for flattery, he knew, would supply every deficiency. His first public appearance was at games of his own institution, called Juveniles; where he advanced upon the stage, tuning his instrument to his voice, with great appearance of skill, A group of tribunes and centurions attended behind him; while his old governor, Burrhus, stood near his hopeful pupil, with indignation in his countenance, and praises on his lips.

He was desirous also of becoming a poet; but he was unwilling to undergo the pain of study,

which a proficiency in that art requires: he was desirous of being a poet ready-made. For this purpose he got together several persons, who were considered as great wits at court, though but very little known as such to the public. These attended him with verses which they had composed at home, or which they babbled out extemporaneously; and the whole of their compositions being tacked together, by his direction, was called a poem. Nor was he without his philosophers also: he took a pleasure in hearing their debates after supper; but he heard them merely for his amusement.

Furnished with such talents as these for giving pleasure, he was resolved to make the tour of his empire, and give the most public display of his abilities wherever he came. The place of his first exhibition, upon leaving Rome, was at Naples. The crowds there were so great, and the curiosity of the people so earnest in hearing him, that they did not perceive an earthquake that happened while he was singing. His desire of gaining the superiority over the other actors was truly ridiculous: he made interest with his judges, reviled his competitors, formed private factions to support him, all in imitation of those who got their livelihood upon the stage. While he continued to perform, no man was permitted to depart from the theatre, upon any pretence whatsoever. Some were so fatigued with hearing him, that they leaped privately from the walls, or pretended to fall into fainting fits, in order to be

carried out. Nay, it is said, that several women were delivered in the theatre. Soldiers were placed in several parts, to observe the looks and gestures of the spectators, either to direct them where to point their applause, or to restrain their displeasure. An old senator, named Vespasian, happening to fall asleep upon one of these occasions, very narrowly escaped with his life.

After being fatigued with the praises of his countrymen, Nero resolved upon going over into Greece, to receive new theatrical honours. The occasion was this. The cities of Greece had made a law to send him musical crowns from all the games; and deputies were accordingly dispatched with this (to him) important embassy. As he one day entertained the deputies at his table in the most sumptuous manner, and conversed with them with the utmost familiarity, they entreated to hear him sing. Upon his complying, the artful Greeks knew how to satisfy his vanity, by the exaggeration of their praise. They testified all the marks of ecstasy and rapture. Applauses so warm were peculiarly pleasing to Nero; he could not refrain from crying out, that the Greeks alone were worthy to hear him; and accordingly prepared, without delay, to go into Greece; where he spent the whole year ensuing. In this journey, his retinue resembled an army in number; but it was only composed of singers, dancers, tailors, and other attendants upon the theatre. He passed over all Greece, and exhibited at all their games, which he ordered to be celebrated in one year. At the

Olympic games he resolved to show the people something extraordinary; wherefore, he drove a chariot with ten horses; but he succeeded most wretchedly; for being unable to sustain the violence of the motion, he was thrown from his seat. The spectators, however, gave him their unanimous applause, and he was crowned as conqueror. In this manner he obtained the prize at the Isthmian, Pythian, and Nemean games. The Greeks were not sparing of their crowns; he obtained eighteen hundred of them. An unfortunate singer happened to oppose him on one of these occasions; and exerted all the powers of his art, which it appears was prodigious; but he seems to have been a better singer than a politician, for Nero ordered him to be killed on the spot. Upon his return from Greece, he entered Naples through a breach in the walls of the city, as was customary with those who were conquerors in the Olympic games. But all the splendour of his return was reserved for his entry into Rome. There he appeared seated in the chariot of Augustus, dressed in robes of purple, and crowned with wild olive, which was the Olympic garland. He bore in his hand the Pythian crown; and had eighteen hundred more carried before him. Beside him sat one Diodorus, a musician; and behind him followed a band of singers, as numerous as a legion, who sung in honour of his victories. The senate, the knights, and the people, attended this puerile pageant, filling the air with their acclamations. The whole city was

illuminated; every street smoked with incense; wherever he passed, victims were slain; the pavement was strewed with saffron; while garlands of flowers, ribands, fowls, and pasties (for so we are told) were showered down upon him from the windows as he passed along. So many honours only inflamed his desire of acquiring new; he at last began to take lessons in wrestling, willing to imitate Hercules in strength, as he had rivalled Apollo in activity. He also caused a lion of pasteboard to be made with great art, against which he undauntedly appeared in the theatre, and struck it down with a blow of his club.

But it had been happy for mankind had he confined himself to these puerilities; and, contented with being contemptible, sought not to become formidable also. His cruelties even outdid all his other extravagances. A complete list of those would exceed the limits of the present work, and would present the reader with a hideous repetition of suspicions without cause, and punishments without mercy. Soon after the death of Agrippina, he ordered Domitia, his aunt, to be poisoned. Some say, that Burrhus, who died shortly after, was served in the same
A. D. manner. Rebellius Plancus, together with
63. Pallas, Agrippina's favourite, were about this time put to death; the former, for being of the Cæsarean family; the latter, for being rich. Octavia, his wife, was divorced; and likewise put to death: and Poppea made empress in her place. Sylla, and Torquatus Syllanus, with

many others, either fell by the executioner, or gave themselves a voluntary death.

He seemed even studious of finding out pleasures as well as crimes against nature. Being attired in the habit of a woman, and covered with a yellow veil like a bride, he was wedded to one of his abominable companions, called Pythagoras, and again to his freedman Doriphorus. On the other hand, that he might be every way detestable, he became the husband of a youth named Sporus, whom he had previously deprived of the marks of virility. With this preposterous bride, decked out in all the ornaments of an empress, he went to all public places: they always rode together in his chariot; and he scrupled not to treat him as a woman, in the sight of the wondering multitude. However, though he escaped their anger, he did not fail to incur their ridicule. It was observed, upon one of these occasions, that the world had been happy if the emperor's father had been married only to such a spouse. But he little regarded what the wiser part of mankind thought of him. He was often heard to observe, that he had rather be hated than loved. When one happened to say in his presence, that the world might be burnt when he was dead: "Nay," replied Nero, "let it be burnt while I am living." In fact, a great part of the city of Rome was consumed by fire shortly after: and most historians ascribe the conflagration to him. It is said, that he stood upon a high tower, during the

continuance of the flames, enjoying the sight, and repeating, in a player's habit, and in a theatrical manner, some verses upon the destruction of Troy. As a proof of his guilt upon this occasion, none were permitted to lend any assistance towards extinguishing the flames; and several persons were seen setting fire to the houses, alleging, that they had orders for so doing. However this be, the emperor used every art to throw the odium of so detestable an action from himself, and to fix it upon the Christians, who were at that time gaining ground in Rome. Nothing could be more dreadful than the persecution raised against them upon this false accusation. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts; and, in that figure, devoured by dogs. Some were crucified; and others burnt alive. "When the day was not sufficient for their tortures, the flames in which they perished," says Tacitus, "served to illuminate the night;" while Nero, dressed in the habit of a charioteer, regaled himself with their tortures from his gardens; and entertained the people, at one time with their sufferings, at another with the games of the circus. In this persecution, St. Paul was beheaded; and St. Peter was crucified with his head downwards; which death he chose as being more dishonourable than that of his Divine Master. The inhuman monster, conscious of being suspected of burning the city, in order to free himself from the scandal, took great care to re-edify it with even greater beauty than before.

But he set no bounds to the magnificence with which his own palace, which had shared in the conflagration, was rebuilt. It now received the name of the golden palace, from the rich materials of which it was composed; as all the apartments were adorned with the richest metals and the most precious jewels. The principal hall was circular, and the ceiling moveable, and went round in imitation of the heavenly motions. The extent of the palace was not less amazing than its beauty. It was so large as to contain within its walls, lakes, parks, and vineyards. The entrance was spacious enough to receive a colossal statue of the emperor, a hundred and twenty feet high. In short, nothing, either before or since, ever equalled the magnificence or richness of this structure. Nero, however, when it was finished, only said coolly, that he was now lodged like a man. But he did not seem to regard the extortions and exactions in all the provinces, which were made to support this style of expence. The oppression and the misery of mankind seemed to be his pleasure, and he was every day contented to feast upon the desolation of a province at a single meal.

Hitherto, however, the citizens of Rome seemed comparatively exempted from his cruelties, which chiefly fell upon strangers and his nearest connections. A conspiracy formed against him by Piso, a man of great power and integrity, which was prematurely discovered, opened a new train of suspicions that destroyed

many of the principal families in Rome. This conspiracy, in which several of the chief men of the city were concerned, was first discovered by the indiscreet zeal of a woman, named Epicharis, who, by some means, now unknown, had been let into the plot, which she revealed to Volusius, a tribune, in order to prevail upon him to be an accomplice. Volusius, instead of coming into her design, went and discovered what he had learned to Nero, who immediately put Epicharis into prison. Soon after, a freedman belonging to Scævinus, one of the accomplices, made a farther discovery. The conspirators were examined apart, and as their testimonies differed, they were put to the torture. Natalis was the first who made a confession of his own guilt, and that of many others. Scævinus gave a list of the conspirators still more ample. Lucan, the poet, was amongst the number, and he, like the rest, in order to save himself, still farther enlarged the catalogue, naming, among others, Attilia, his own mother. Epicharis was now, therefore, again called upon and put to the torture; but her fortitude was proof against all the tyrant's cruelty; neither scourging, nor burning, nor all the malicious methods used by the executioners, could extort the smallest confession. She was, therefore, remanded to prison, with orders to have her tortures renewed the day following. In the mean time, she found an opportunity of strangling herself with her handkerchief, by hanging it against the back of her chair. It need scarcely be asked,

whether the rest of the conspirators were put to death under such a prince as Nero, whose daily custom was to condemn even the innocent. Piso, Lateranus, Fennius Rufus, Subrius Flavius, Sulpicius Asper, Vestinus the consul, and numberless others, were all executed without mercy. But the two most remarkable personages who fell on this occasion were Seneca the philosopher, and Lucan the poet, who was his nephew. It is not certainly known, whether Seneca was really concerned in this conspiracy or not. This great man had for some time perceived the outrageous conduct of his pupil, and finding himself incapable of controlling his savage disposition, had retired from court into solitude and privacy. However, his retreat did not now protect him; for Nero, either having real testimony against him, or else hating him for his virtues, sent a tribune informing him that he was suspected as an accomplice. The tribune found the philosopher at table with Paulina, his wife, and informing him of his business, Seneca replied without any emotion, that his welfare depended upon no man; that he had never been accustomed to indulge the errors of the emperor, and would not do it now. When this answer was brought back to Nero, he demanded whether Seneca seemed afraid to die; the tribune replying that he did not appear in the least terrified; "Then go to him again," cried the emperor, "and give him my orders to die." This tribune was himself one of the conspirators; so that, instead of immediately returning, he went to ask

the opinion of Fennius Rufus, his commander, whether he should obey. Upon Fennius's advising him to do it, he sent a centurion to Seneca, signifying that it was the emperor's pleasure that he should die. Upon receiving this fatal command, Seneca seemed no way discomposed, but called for his will, in order to make some additions to it in favour of some friends that were then with him. This favour, however, the centurion refused to grant him; upon which Seneca, turning to his friends, "Since then," cried he, "I am "not permitted to leave you any other marks of "my affection, at least I leave you one legacy "more precious than all the rest—my example." Then comforting their distress, and embracing his wife, the memory of her past affection seemed to melt him into tears. However, no way unmindful of his constancy, he endeavoured to console her for his loss, and exhort her to a life of persevering virtue. But she seemed resolved on not surviving him, and pressed her request to die with him so earnestly, that Seneca, who had long looked upon death as a benefit, at last gave his consent, and the veins of both their arms were opened at the same time. As Seneca was old, and much enfeebled by the austerities of his life, the blood flowed but slowly, so that he caused the veins of his legs and thighs to be opened also. His pains were long and violent, but they were not capable of repressing his fortitude or his eloquence. He dictated a discourse to two secretaries, which was read with great avidity after his

death by the people, but which has since perished in the wreck of time. His agonies being now drawn out to a great length, he at last demanded poison from his physician; but this also failed of its effect, his body being already exhausted, and incapable of exciting its operation. He was from this carried into a warm bath, which only served to prolong his end; at length, therefore, he was put into a dry stove, the vapour of which quickly dispatched him. In the mean time, his wife Paulina, having fallen into a swoon with the loss of blood, had her arms bound up by her domestics, and by this means survived her husband for some years; but by her conduct during the rest of her life, she seemed always mindful of her own love and his example.

The death of Lucan was not less remarkable. The veins of his arms being opened, after he had lost a great quantity of blood, perceiving his hands and legs already dead, while the vital parts still continued warm and vigorous, he called to mind a description in his own poem of the Pharsalia, of a person dying in similar circumstances, and expired while he was repeating that beautiful passage:—

—— Nec sicut vulnere sanguis
Emicuit lentus. Ruptis cadit undique venis
—— pars ultima trunci.
Tradidit in cetum vacuos vitalibus artus;
At tumidus qua pulmo jacet, qua viscera fervent,
Hæserunt ibi fata diu: luctataque multum
Hac cum parte, viri vix omnia membra tulerunt.

In this manner was the whole city filled with slaughter and frightful instances of treachery. No master was secure from the vengeance of his slaves, nor even parents from the baser attempts of their children. Not only throughout Rome, but the whole country round, bodies of soldiers were seen in pursuit of the suspected and the guilty. Whole crowds of wretches, loaded with chains, were led every day to the gates of the palace, to wait their sentence from the tyrant's own lips. He always presided at the torture in person, attended by Tigellinus, captain of the guard, who, from being the most abandoned man in Rome, was now become his principal minister and favourite.

Nor were the Roman provinces in a better situation than the capital city. The example of the tyrant seemed to influence his governors, who gave instances not only of their rapacity, but their cruelty, in every part of the empire. In the seventh year of his reign, the Britons revolted under the conduct of their queen Boadicea. Paulinus, the Roman general, being at that time employed with part of the legions in expelling the Druids from the isle of Anglesey, his lieutenants, in his absence, committed such barbarities as were intolerable to the inhabitants. Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, was treated with peculiar indignity, being condemned to be scourged, and her daughters deflowered by the soldiery. In revenge, therefore, at the head of a numerous

army, she fell upon the Romans wherever they were unprovided, took their castles, destroyed the chief seats of their power at London and Verulam, and so great was her fury, that seventy thousand Romans perished in this revolt. But the Roman general soon after revenged his countrymen by a great and decisive battle, in which eighty thousand Britons are said to have perished; and Boadicea herself, rather than fall into the hands of the enraged victor, put an end to her life by poison. By this remarkable defeat, the Britons ever after, during the continuance of the Romans among them, lost not only all hopes, but even all desire of freedom.

A war was also carried on against the Parthians, for the greatest part of this reign, conducted by Corbulo; who, after many successes, had dispossessed Tiridates, and settled Tigranes in Armenia in his room. Tiridates, however, was soon after restored by an invasion of the Parthians into that country; but being once more opposed by Corbulo, the Romans and Parthians came to an agreement that Tiridates should continue to govern Armenia, upon condition that he should lay down his crown at the feet of the emperor's statue, and receive it as coming from him; all which he shortly after performed;—a ceremony, however, which Nero desired to have repeated to his person: wherefore, by letters and promises, he invited Tiridates to Rome, granting him the most magnificent supplies for his journey. Nero attended his arrival with very sumptuous prepa-

rations. He received him seated on a throne, accompanied by the senate standing round him, and the whole army drawn out with all imaginable splendour. Tiridates ascended the throne with great reverence, and, approaching the emperor, fell down at his feet, and, in the most abject terms, acknowledged himself his slave. Nero raised him up, telling him with equal arrogance, that he did well, and that by his submission he had gained a kingdom which his ancestors could never acquire by their arms. He then placed the crown on his head; and, after the most costly ceremonies and entertainments, he was sent back to Armenia with incredible sums of money to defray the expences of his return.

In the twelfth year of this emperor's reign, the Jews also revolted, having been severely oppressed by the Roman governors. It is said that Florus, in particular, was arrived at that degree of tyranny, that by public proclamation he gave permission to plunder the country, provided he received half the spoil. These oppressions drew such a train of calamities after them, that the sufferings of all other nations were slight in comparison to what this devoted people afterwards endured. I shall mention them more at length in the reign of Vespasian, in which, as Christ had prophesied, they came to a completion.

In the mean time, Nero proceeded in his cruelties at Rome with unabated severity. Rufius Crispinus, and Annæus Mella, the brother

of Seneca, were destroyed upon slight suspicions. The death of Petronius about this time is U. C. too remarkable to be passed over in silence. 817. This person, whom many modern histo- A. D. rians suppose to be the author of a work of 66. no great merit, entitled Satyricon, which is still remaining, was an Epicurean both in principle and practice. In so luxurious a court as that of Nero, he was particularly noted for his refinements in luxury. He was by no means a low sensual debauchee, but chiefly remarkable for giving the most studied attempts in wit an air of the most elegant simplicity. Nero had chosen him among the number of his dependents, as the arbiter of his pleasures; an office which Tigellinus resolved to enjoy solely to himself, and therefore resolved upon his destruction. He was accused accordingly of being privy to Piso's conspiracy, and committed to prison. Petronius could not endure the anxiety of suspense; wherefore he resolved upon putting himself to death, which he performed in a manner entirely similar to that in which he had lived. He caused his veins to be opened, and then closed, and again opened at intervals; and with the utmost cheerfulness and tranquillity conversed with his friends, not upon maxims of philosophy or grave subjects, but upon such topics as had amused his gayest revels. He listened while they recited the lightest poems; and by no action, no word, nor circumstance, showed the perplexity of a dying person. Shortly after him, Numicius Thermus was put to death,

as likewise Barea Soranus, and Peteus Thrasea. The destroying the two last, Tacitus calls an attack upon virtue itself. Thrasea died in the midst of his friends and philosophers, conversing and reasoning on the nature of the soul. His wife, who was the daughter of the celebrated Arria, was desirous of following her mother's example, but he dissuaded her from it. The death of the valiant Corbulo, who had gained Nero so many victories over the Parthians, followed next. Nor did the empress Poppea herself escape, whom, in a fit of anger, he kicked when she was pregnant, by which she miscarried and died. At length, human nature grew weary of bearing her persecutor; and the whole world seemed to rouse, as if by common consent, to rid the earth of a monster.

The inbred distempers of the empire, which had been contracted under the detestable government of four succeeding princes, now began to discover themselves in their furious effects, and there appeared a general revolution in all the provinces.

The first appeared in Gaul, under Julius Vindex, who commanded the legions there, and publicly protested against the tyrannical government of Nero. He appeared to have no other motive for this revolt than that of freeing the world from an oppressor; for when it was told him that Nero had set a reward upon his head of ten millions of sesterces, he made this gallant answer: "Whoever brings me Nero's head, shall,

"if he pleases, have mine." But, still more to show that he was not actuated by motives of private ambition, he proclaimed Sergius Galba emperor, and invited him to join in the revolt. Sergius Galba, who was at that time governor of Spain, was equally remarkable for his wisdom in peace and his courage in war. But as all talents under corrupt princes are dangerous, he for some years had seemed willing to court obscurity, giving himself up to an inactive life, and avoiding all opportunities of signalizing his valour. He now, therefore, either through the caution attending old age, or from a total want of ambition, appeared little inclined to join with Vindex, and continued for some time to deliberate with his friends on the part he should take.

In the mean time, Nero, who had been apprised of the proceedings against him in Gaul, appeared totally regardless of the danger, privately flattering himself that the suppression of this revolt would give him an opportunity of fresh confiscations. He appeared, therefore, at the theatre as usual, and seemed to interest himself as warmly in the contests there, as if he had totally forgotten that there was a contention for his empire. Being then at Naples, he excused himself in his letters to the senate for not immediately coming to Rome, as he was detained by a hoarseness which he was afraid to increase. The care of his voice was still uppermost in his mind, and nothing seemed to give him greater uneasiness than that Vindex in his manifestoes should call

him a miserable musician. He frequently asked those about him, whether it was possible one who had studied the art so long and carefully as he had done, should be the bungler he was represented by Vindex.

The circumstances of the revolt growing more formidable every hour, Nero returned to Rome with a mixture of hope, exultation, and revenge. Observing an ancient monument by the way side, on which were the statues of a Roman knight overcoming a Gaulish soldier, he looked upon this as a favourable omen, and was transported with pleasure at the adventure. Upon entering the city, he convened a few of his creatures among the senate, and entertained them, not by deliberations upon the state of his affairs, but by showing them some musical instruments that were to be played upon by water. He explained to them their mechanism, their advantages and defects, adding with an ironical air, "that he hoped, with Vindex's permission, to "exhibit this instrument upon the theatre."

The actual revolt of Galba, the news of which arrived soon after, affected him in a very different manner. The reputation of that general was such, that from the moment he declared against him, Nero considered himself as undone. He received the account as he was at supper, and, instantly struck with terror, overturned the table with his foot, breaking two crystal vases of immense value. He then fell into a swoon, from which when he recovered, he tore his clothes,

and struck his head, crying out, "that he was "utterly undone." It was then that he began to meditate slaughters more extensive than he yet had committed, and tortures yet untried. He was resolved to massacre all the governors of provinces, to destroy all exiles, and to murder all the Gauls in Rome, as a punishment for the treachery of their countrymen. In short, in the wildness of his rage, he thought of poisoning the whole senate, of burning the city, and turning the lions, kept for the purposes of the theatre, out upon the people. These designs being impracticable, he resolved at last to face the danger in person. But his very preparations served to mark the infatuation of his mind. His principal care was, to provide waggons for the convenient carriage of his musical instruments, and to dress out his concubines like Amazons, with whom he intended to face the enemy. He also made a resolution, that if he came off with safety and empire, he would appear again upon the theatre with the lute and the water-music, and would equip himself as a pantomime.

While Nero was thus frivolously employed, the revolt became general. Not only the armies in Spain and Gaul, but also the legions in Germany, Africa, and Lusitania, declared against him. Virginius Rufus alone, who commanded an army on the Upper Rhine, for a while continued in suspense; during which, his force, without his permission, falling upon the Gauls, routed them with great slaughter, and Vindex

slew himself. But this ill success no way advanced the interests of Nero; he was so detested by the whole empire, that he could find none of the armies faithful to each other. He therefore called for Locusto to furnish him with poison; and thus prepared for the worst, he retired to the Servilian gardens, with a resolution of flying into Egypt. He accordingly dispatched the freedmen in whom he had the most confidence, to prepare a fleet at Ostia; and, in the mean while, sounded in person the tribunes and centurions of the guard, to know if they were willing to share his fortunes. These all excused themselves under divers pretexts. One of them had the boldness to answer him, by part of a line from Virgil: "*Usque adeone mori miserum est:* Is death "then such a misfortune?" Thus destitute of every resource, all the expedients that cowardice, revenge, or terror could produce, took place in his mind by turns. He at one time resolved to take refuge among the Parthians; at another, to deliver himself up to the mercy of the insurgents: one while, he determined to mount the rostrum, to ask pardon for what was past, and to conclude with a promise of amendment for the future. With these gloomy deliberations he went to bed, but waking about midnight, he was surprised to find his guards had left him. The prætorian soldiers, in fact, having been corrupted by their commander, had retired to their camp, and proclaimed Galba emperor. Nero immediately sent for his friends, to deliberate upon his present exi-

gence, but his friends also forsook him; even Tigellinus himself, the creature of his benefits and the partaker of his guilt, had gone over to Galba. He went in person from house to house, but all the doors were shut against him, and none were found to answer his inquiries. While he was pursuing this inquiry, his very domestics followed the general defection; and, having plundered his apartment, escaped different ways. Being now reduced to a state of desperation, he desired that one of his favourite gladiators might come and dispatch him; but even in this request there was none found to obey. "Alas!" cried he, "have I neither friend nor "enemy?" and then running desperately forth, seemed resolved to plunge headlong into the Tiber. But just then his courage beginning to fail him, he made a sudden stop, as if willing to recollect his reason, and asked for some secret place, where he might re-assume his courage, and meet death with becoming fortitude. In this distress, Phaon, one of his freedmen, offered him his country-house, about four miles distant, where he might for some time remain concealed. Nero accepted his offer; and, half dressed as he was, with his head covered, and hiding his face with his handkerchief, he mounted on horse-back, attended by four of his domestics, of whom the wretched Sporus was one. His journey, though short, was crowded with adventures. An earthquake gave him the first alarm. The lightning

from heaven next flashed in his face. Round him he heard nothing but confused noises from the camp, and the cries of the soldiers, imprecating a thousand evils upon his head. A passenger meeting him on the way, cried, "There go men "in pursuit of Nero." Another asked him, if there was any news of Nero in the city. His horse taking fright at a dead body that lay near the road, he dropped his handkerchief, and a soldier who was near, addressed him by name. He now, therefore, quitted his horse, and forsaking the highway, entered a thicket, that led towards the back part of Phaon's house, through which he crept, making the best of his way among the reeds and brambles with which the place was overgrown. When he was arrived at the back part of the house, while he was waiting till there should be a breach made in the wall, he took up some water in the hollow of his hands from a pool to drink; saying, "These are the delicacies "of Nero." When the hole was made large enough to admit him, he crept in upon all fours, and took a short repose upon a wretched pallet that had been prepared for his reception. Being pressed by hunger, he demanded somewhat to eat; they brought him a piece of brown bread, which he refused; but drank a little water. During this interval, the senate finding the prætorian guards had taken part with Galba, declared him emperor, and condemned Nero to die *more majorum:* that is, according to the rigour

of the ancient laws. These dreadful tidings were quickly brought by one of Phaon's slaves from the city, while Nero yet continued lingering between his hopes and his fears. At one time, this most wretched of all mankind was employed in providing stones for his tomb; at another, in preparing wood and water for his funeral; now repeating verses expressive of the horrors of his mind; again giving vent to his tears, and crying out, "What an artist is the world likely "to lose!" When he was told of the resolution of the senate against him, he asked the messenger what was meant, by being punished according to the rigour of the ancient laws? To this he was answered, that the criminal was to be stripped naked, his head was to be fixed in a pillory, and in that posture he was to be scourged to death. Nero was so terrified at this, that he seized two poignards, which he had brought with him, and examining their points, returned them to their sheaths, pretending that the fatal moment was not yet arrived. He then desired Sporus to begin the lamentations which were used at funerals; he next entreated that some one of his attendants would die, to give him courage by his example; and afterwards began to reproach his own cowardice, crying out, "Does "this become Nero? Is this trifling well timed? "No, no, let me be courageous." In fact, he had no time to spare, for the soldiers who had been sent in pursuit of him, were just then approaching the house: wherefore, hearing the

sound of the horses' feet, he set a dagger to his throat, with which, by the assistance of Epaphroditus, his freedman and secretary, he gave himself a mortal wound. However, he was not yet quite dead, when one of the centurions entering the room, and pretending he came to his relief, attempted to stop the blood with his cloak. But Nero, regarding him with a stern countenance, said, "It is now too late.—Is this your fidelity?" Upon which, with his eyes fixed, and frightfully staring, he expired, even in death a ghastly spectacle of innoxious tyranny.

Little need be said concerning the character of a monarch, whose very name is become a term of reproach to all bad princes. His natural disposition was extremely bad, but it was rendered still more detestable by flattery. All orders of men were at this time so depraved, that each seemed eager to contend which should be most instrumental in pushing him on to his excesses, and applauding him when he had committed them. It must be a strong mind, that being assaulted thus on every side, can stand unshaken, and trace out for itself the track of undeviating virtue. Thus much, I think, we may say of this most wretched man, notwithstanding the concurrent reproach of all historians, that through the greatest part of his reign, he himself seemed ignorant of his being a tyrant.

He reigned thirteen years, seven months, and twenty-eight days, and died in the thirty-second year of his age.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ... MAHAL.

CHAPTER VIII.

Sergius Galba, the Seventh Emperor.

THE rejoicings at Rome upon Nero's death, were as great as those upon his accession. All persons came running into the streets to congratulate each other upon the death of the tyrant, dressed in the manner of slaves who had been just set free.

U. C. 821. A. D. 69.

Galba was seventy-two years old when he was declared emperor, and was then in Spain with his legions. However, he soon found that his being raised to the throne was but an inlet to new disquietudes. His first embarrassment arose from a disorder in his own army; for, upon his approaching the camp, one of the wings of his horse, repenting of their choice, prepared to revolt, and he found it no easy matter to reconcile them to their duty. He also narrowly escaped assassination from some slaves, who were presented to him by one of Nero's freedmen with that intent. The death of Vindex also served not a little to add to his disquietudes; so that, upon his very entrance into empire, he had some thoughts of putting an end to his own life. But hearing from Rome that Nero was dead, and the empire transferred to him, he immediately assumed the title and ensigns of command.

In his journey towards Rome, he was met by Rufus Virginius, who finding the senate had decreed him the government, came to yield him obedience. This general had more than once refused the empire himself, which was offered him by the soldiers, alleging, that the senate alone had the disposal of it, and from them only he would accept the honour. Shortly after this, many of those who were most notorious during the last reign, and who attempted to disturb the present, were cut off. Among these were Nymphidius Sabinus, præfect of the prætorian guards at Rome; Fonteius Capito, lieutenant in Germany; and Clodius Macer, proconsul in Africa.

Galba having been brought to the empire by means of his army, was, at the same time, willing to suppress their power to commit any future disturbance. His first approach to Rome was attended with one of those rigorous strokes of justice which ought rather to be defended than imitated. A body of mariners, whom Nero had taken from the oar and enlisted among the legions, went to meet Galba three miles from the city, and with loud importunities demanded a confirmation of what his predecessor had done in their favour. Galba, who was rigidly attached to the ancient discipline, deferred their request to another time. But they, considering this delay as equivalent to an absolute denial, insisted upon their request in a very disrespectful manner; and even some of them had recourse to arms: whereupon Galba ordered a body of horse

attending him to ride in among them, and thus killed seven thousand of them; but not content with this punishment, he afterwards ordered them to be decimated. Their insolence demanded correction, but such extensive punishments deviated into cruelty. His next step to curb the insolence of the soldiers, was his discharging the German cohort, which had been established by the former emperors as a guard to their persons. Those he sent home to their own country unrewarded, pretending they were dissaffected to his person.

He seemed to have two other objects also in view: namely, to punish those vices which had come to an enormous height in the last reign, with the strictest severity; and to replenish the exchequer, which had been quite drained by the prodigality of his predecessors. These attempts only brought on him the imputation of severity and avarice; the state was too much corrupted to admit of such an immediate transition from vice to virtue, as this worthy but weak politician attempted to effect. The people had long been maintained in sloth and luxury by the prodigality of the former emperors, and could not think of being obliged to seek for new means of subsistence, or retrench their superfluities. They began, therefore, to satirize the old man, and turn the simplicity of his manners into ridicule. Among the marks of avarice recorded of him, he is said to have groaned upon having an expensive soup served up to his table; he is

said to have presented to his steward, for his fidelity, a plate of beans; a famous player upon the flute, named Canus, having greatly delighted him, it is reported that he drew out his purse, and gave him five-pence, telling him that it was private and not public money. By such ill-judged frugalities, at such a time, Galba began to lose his popularity; and he who before his accession was esteemed by all, now being become emperor, was considered with ridicule and contempt.

But there are some circumstances of avarice alleged against him, less equivocal than those trifling ones already mentioned. Shortly after his coming to Rome, the people were presented with a most grateful spectacle; which was that of Locusto, Elius, Polycletus, Patronius, and Petinus, all the bloody ministers of Nero's cruelty, drawn in fetters through the city and publicly executed. But Tigellinus, the most notorious offender of all, was not there. This crafty villain had taken care for his own safety by the largeness of his bribes; and though the people cried out for vengeance against him at the theatre and the circus, yet the emperor granted him his life and pardon. Helotus, the eunuch, also, who had been the instrument of poisoning Claudius, escaped, and owed his safety to the proper application of his wealth.

This collusion, however, was owing rather to the avarice of Galba's favourites than to his; for, whether from the infirmity of age, or the multi-

plicity of business, he now suffered himself to be entirely governed by three favourites; who, being continually in his presence, were commonly styled his masters. These were, Titus Venius, who had been his lieutenant in Spain, a man of insatiable avarice; Caius Laco, whom he had made præfect of the prætorian bands; and Icelus, his freedman, who aspired at the highest command in the equestrian order. These three, very different in their dispositions, influenced the emperor to opposite pursuits; and only agreed in one point, that of abusing his confidence. Thus, by the inequality of his conduct, he became despicable to his subjects; at one time, showing himself severe and frugal; at another, remiss and prodigal; condemning some illustrious persons without any hearing, and pardoning others though guilty: in short, nothing was done but by the mediation of these favourites; all offices were venal, and all punishments redeemable by money.

Affairs were in this unsettled posture at Rome, while the provinces were yet in a worse condition. The success of the army in Spain in choosing an emperor, induced the legions in other parts to wish for a similar opportunity. Accordingly, many seditions were kindled, and several factions promoted in different parts of the empire, but particularly in Germany. There were then, in that province, two Roman armies; the one, which had lately attempted to make Rufus Virginius emperor, as has been already

mentioned, and which was commanded by his lieutenant; the other, commanded by Vitellius, who long had an ambition to obtain the empire for himself. The former of these armies, despising their present general, and considering themselves as suspected by the emperor for having been the last to acknowledge his title, resolved now to be foremost in denying it. Accordingly, when they were summoned to take the oaths of homage and fidelity, they refused to acknowledge any other commands but those of the senate. This refusal they backed by a message to the prætorian bands, importing, that they were resolved not to acquiesce in the election of an emperor created in Spain, and desiring that the senate should proceed to a new choice.

Galba being informed of these commotions, was sensible, that, besides his age, he was less respected for want of an heir. He resolved, therefore, to put what he had formerly designed in execution, and to adopt some person, whose virtues might deserve such advancement, and protect his declining age from danger. His favourites understanding his determination, instantly resolved on giving him an heir of their own choosing; so that there arose a great contention among them upon this occasion. Otho made warm application for himself, alleging the great services he had done the emperor, as being the first man of note who came to his assistance when he had declared against Nero. However,

Galba, being fully resolved to consult the public good alone, rejected his suit; and, on a day appointed, ordered Piso Lucinianus to attend him. The character given by historians of Piso is, that he was every way worthy of the honour designed him. He was no way related to Galba; and had no other interest but merit to recommend him to his favour. Taking this youth, therefore, by the hand, in the presence of his friends, he adopted him to succeed in the empire, giving him the most wholesome lessons for guiding his future conduct. Piso's conduct showed that he was highly deserving this distinction: in all his deportment there appeared such modesty, firmness, and equality of mind, as bespoke him rather capable of discharging, than ambitious of obtaining, his present dignity. But the army and the senate did not seem equally disinterested upon this occasion; they had been so long used to bribery and corruption, that they could now bear no emperor who was not in a capacity of satisfying their avarice. The adoption, therefore, of Piso was but coldly received; for his virtues were no recommendation in a nation of universal depravity.

Otho, now finding his hopes of adoption wholly frustrated, and still further stimulated by the immense load of debt which he had contracted by his riotous way of living, resolved upon obtaining the empire by force, since he could not by peaceable succession. In fact, his circumstances were so very desperate, that he was

heard to say, that it was equal to him whether he fell by his enemies in the field, or by his creditors in the city. He, therefore, raised a moderate sum of money, by selling his interest to a person who wanted a place; and with this bribed two subaltern officers in the prætorian bands; supplying the deficiency of his largesses by promises and plausible pretences. Having in this manner, in less than eight days, corrupted the fidelity of the soldiers, he stole secretly from the emperor while he was sacrificing; and assembling the soldiers, in a short speech urged the cruelties and the avarice of Galba. Finding these his invectives received with universal shouts by the whole army, he entirely threw off the mask, and avowed his intentions of dethroning him. The soldiers, being ripe for sedition, immediately seconded his views, and, taking Otho upon their shoulders, immediately declared him emperor; and, to strike the citizens with terror, carried him, with their swords drawn, into the camp.

Galba, in the mean time, being informed of the revolt of an army, seemed utterly confounded, and in want of sufficient resolution to face an event which he should have long foreseen. In this manner the poor old man continued wavering and doubtful; till, at last, being deluded by a false report of Otho's being slain, he rode into the Forum in complete armour, and attended by many of his followers. Just at the same instant, a body of horse, sent from the camp to destroy him, entered on the opposite side,

and each party prepared for the encounter. For some time hostilities were suspended on each side; Galba being confused and irresolute, and his antagonists struck with horror at the baseness of their enterprise. At length, however, finding the emperor in some measure deserted by his adherents, they rushed in upon him, trampling the crowds of people that then filled the Forum under foot. Galba seeing them approach, seemed to recollect all his former fortitude; and, bending his head forward, bid the assassins strike it off, if it were for the good of the people. This was quickly performed; and his head, being set upon the point of a lance, was presented to Otho, who ordered it to be contemptuously carried round the camp; his body remaining unburied in the streets, till it was buried by one of his slaves. He died in the seventy-third year of his A. D.
age, after a short reign of seven months; 69.
as illustrious by his own virtues, as it was contaminated by the vices of his favourites, who shared in his downfall.

CHAPTER IX.

Otho, the Eighth Emperor.

NO sooner was Galba thus murdered, than the senate and people ran in crowds to the camp, contending who should be foremost in extolling the virtues of the new emperor, and depressing the character of him they had so unjustly destroyed. Each laboured to excel the rest in his instances of homage; and the less his affections were for him, the more did he indulge all the vehemence of exaggerated praise. Otho, finding himself surrounded by congratulating multitudes, immediately repaired to the senate, where he received the titles usually given to the emperors; and from thence returned to the palace, seemingly resolved to reform his life, and assume manners becoming the greatness of his station.

He began his reign by a signal instance of clemency, in pardoning Marius Celsus, who had been highly favoured by Galba; and not contented with barely forgiving, he advanced him to the highest honours, asserting that "Fidelity deserved every reward." This act of clemency was followed by another of justice, equally agreeable to the people. Tigellinus, Nero's favourite, he who had been the promoter of all his cruelties, was now put to death; and all such as had been unjustly banished or stripped, at his instigation,

during Nero's reign, were restored to their country and fortunes.

In the mean time, the legions in Lower Germany, having been purchased by the large gifts and specious promises of Vitellius their general, were at length induced to proclaim him emperor; and, regardless of the senate, they declared that they had an equal right to appoint to that high station with the cohorts at Rome. The news of this conduct in the army soon spread consternation throughout Rome; but Otho was particularly struck with the account, as being apprehensive that nothing but the blood of his countrymen could decide a contest, of which his own ambition only was the cause. Of all characters in history, Otho's seems the only one which was mended by advancement; for we now find Otho, the emperor, very different from himself when in a private station: he was, in the former period, weak, vicious, and debauched; but, upon the present occasion, he appears courageous, benevolent, and humane. He now, therefore, sought to come to an agreement with Vitellius; but this not succeeding, both sides began their preparations for war. However, all things seemed to be unfavourable to Otho. The chief of the senate were grown old and impotent; the rich men of Rome were indolent and slothful; the knights had long been dissolved in ease and luxury; and the cohorts themselves were relaxed from the military discipline of their ancestors. News being received that Vitellius was

upon his march to Italy, Otho departed from Rome with a vast army to oppose him. Bnt though he was very powerful with regard to numbers, his men, being but little used to war, could not be relied on. He seemed, by his behaviour, sensible of the disproportion of his forces; and he is said to have been tortured with frightful dreams, and the most boding apprehensions. It is also reported by some, that one night, fetching many profound sighs in his sleep, his servants ran hastily to his bed-side, and found him stretched on the ground. He alleged, he had seen the ghost of Galba, which had, in a threatening manner, beat and pushed him rudely from the bed; and he afterwards used many expiations to appease it. However this be, he proceeded with a great show of courage, till he arrived at the city of Brixellum, on the river Po, where he remained, sending his forces before him, under the conduct of his generals Suetonius and Celsus, who made what haste they could to give the enemy battle. The army of Vitellius, which consisted of seventy thousand men, was commanded by his generals Valens and Cecinna, he himself remaining in Gaul, in order to bring up the rest of his forces. Thus both sides hastened to meet each other with so much animosity and precipitation, that three considerable battles were fought in the space of three days; one near Placentia, another near Cremona, and a third at a place called Castor; in all which, Otho and the Romans had the advantage. But these suc-

cesses were but of short-lived continuance; for Valens and Cecinna, who had hitherto acted separately, joining their forces, and reinforcing their armies with fresh supplies, resolved to come to a general engagement. Otho, who by this time had joined his army at a little village called Bebriacum, finding the enemy, notwithstanding their late losses, inclined to come to a battle, resolved to call a council of war, to determine upon the proper measures to be taken. His generals were of opinion to protract the war; but others, whose inexperience had given them causeless confidence, declared that nothing but a battle could relieve the miseries of the state; protesting that Fortune and all the Gods, with the divinity of the emperor himself, favoured the design, and would, undoubtedly, prosper the enterprise. In this advice Otho acquiesced; he had been for some time so uneasy under the war, that he seemed willing to exchange suspense for danger. However, he was so surrounded by flatterers, that he was prohibited from being personally present in the engagement, but prevailed upon to reserve himself for the fortune of the empire, and wait the event at Brixellum. The affairs of both armies being thus adjusted, they came to an engagement at Bebriacum; where, in the beginning, those on the side of Otho seemed to have the advantage, and, at the first onset, slew all the first rank, and won the eagle, which was considered as a certain presage of victory. Both armies were extremely encum-

bered with trees and hedges, so that they were obliged to fight with very little regularity, and the engagement seemed a tumultuary opposition of forces, without a plan, and without a commander. At length, however, the superior discipline of the legions of Vitellius turned the scale of victory. They, after some time, formed themselves from a state of apparent confusion, and attacking the enemy in flank, gained a signal and decisive victory. Otho's army fled in great confusion towards Bebriacum, being pursued with miserable slaughter all the way.

In the mean time, Otho waited for the news of the battle with great impatience, and seemed to tax his messengers with delay. The first account of his defeat was brought him by a common soldier who had escaped from the field of battle. However, Otho, who was still surrounded by flatterers, was desired to give no credit to a base fugitive, who was guilty of falsehood only to cover his own cowardice. The soldier, however, still persisted in the veracity of his report; and, finding none inclined to believe him, immediately fell upon his sword, and expired at the emperor's feet. Otho was so much struck with the death of this faithful sentinel, that he cried out, that he would cause the ruin of no more such valiant and worthy soldiers, but would end the contest the shortest way. It was in vain, therefore, that his followers gathered round him, endeavouring to revive his hopes, and inspire him with fresh ambition: in vain did those who were too distant

to be heard, lift up their hands to beseech him; he was deaf to all their entreaties; he had formed a resolution to die, as the only means of ridding himself of his cares, and his country of its calamities. Having, therefore, given the signal for speaking, he addressed the shattered remains of his army with great intrepidity. "I esteem," cried he, "this day as far more glorious than "that of my election, since it has convinced me "of your fidelity and affection. I must, however, entreat for one favour more; which is, to "die, in order to procure your safety: I can never so much advance the interests of my country by war and blood, as by sacrificing myself "for its peace. Others have purchased fame by "governing well; let it be my boast to leave an "empire, rather than by my ambition to weaken "or destroy it." After speaking to this effect, he entreated his followers to yield themselves to Vitellius, and not provoke him by obstinacy or delay. Then rebuking the unreasonable fears of those about him, without any signs of fear, either in his looks or words, he retired to his chamber: there he wrote two consolatory letters to his sister, and a third to Messalina, whom he had designed for his wife. He next burnt such letters and papers as might be prejudicial to his friends, and distributed some money and jewels among his friends and domestics. He then prepared to die; but perceiving a tumult among the soldiers, who were about to punish some that were going privately away; he cried out, "Let me then add

"one day more to my life." Upon which he ordered his chamber-door to be thrown open, and employed the remaining part of the day in hindering the violence of his soldiers, and giving advice to all such as desired admittance. Having thus performed the duties of his station, and having quenched his thirst with a draught of cold water, he ordered the doors to be secured. He then took two daggers, and having tried and chosen the sharpest, he laid it under his pillow, and fell into a profound sleep. Awaking by break of day, he perceived one of his servants remaining in the room, whom he commanded to retire. Then taking the dagger, he gave himself a mortal blow on the left side, and with a single groan ended his life, after a short reign of three months and five days. There is something in the conclusion of this prince's reign, that seems to atone for the vile methods by which he acquired dominion. His clemency and justice while he continued on the throne, and the calm manner in which he resigned it, make us almost regret his wanting an opportunity to display his newly-acquired virtues with more permanent lustre.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ... MAHAL.

CHAPTER X.

Vitellius, the Ninth Emperor.

It was no sooner known that Otho had killed himself, than all the soldiers repaired to Virginius, the commander of the German legions, earnestly entreating him to take upon him the reins of government; or, at least, entreating his mediation with the generals of Vitellius in their favour. Upon his declining their request, Rubrius Gullus, a person of considerable note, immediately undertook their embassy to the generals of the conquering army, and soon after obtained pardon for all the adherents of Otho. A. D. 70.

Vitellius was immediately after declared emperor by the senate, and received the marks of distinction, which were now accustomed to follow the appointments of the strongest side. At the same time, Italy was severely embarrassed by the soldiers, who committed such outrages as exceeded all the oppressions of the most calamitous war. Vitellius, who was yet in Gaul, resolved, before he set out for Rome, to punish the prætorian cohorts, who had been the instruments of all the late disturbances in the state. He, therefore, caused them to be disarmed, and deprived of the name and honour of soldiers. He ordered also a hundred and fifty of those who were most guilty, to be put to death.

These bright beginnings, however, were soon shaded by his vices and extravagance. As he approached towards Rome, he passed through the towns with all imaginable splendour; his passage by water was in painted galleys adorned with garlands of flowers, and profusely furnished with the greatest delicacies. In his journey, there neither was order nor discipline among his soldiers: they plundered wherever they came with impunity, and he seemed no way displeased at the licentiousness of their behaviour. Upon his arrival on the field where the battle was fought which put him in possession of the empire, observing the great number of dead bodies scattered over the plain, men and horses confusedly intermixed, putrefying, and tainting the air with their stench, he seemed no way shocked at the spectacle; but observed to those about him, that a dead enemy smelt well; and then calling for wine, he drank upon the field, and ordered large quantities to be distributed among his soldiers.

Upon his arrival at Rome, he entered the city, not as a place he came to govern with justice, but as a town that was become his own by the laws of conquest. He marched through the streets, mounted on horseback, all in armour, the senate and people going before him as if the captives of his late victory. He the next day made the senate a speech, in which he magnified his own actions, and promised them extraordinary advantages from his administration. He next harangued the people, who being now long

accustomed to flatter all in authority, highly applauded and blessed their new emperor.

In the mean time, his soldiers being permitted to satiate themselves in the debaucheries of the city, grew totally unfit for war. The principal affairs of the state were managed by the lowest wretches, whom Fortune, in her capricious moments, seemed pleased with exalting. Asiaticus, his freedman, attended by a group of players and charioteers, governed all things, and brought virtue into disrepute by their vicious example. Vitellius, more abandoned than they, gave himself up to all kinds of luxury and profuseness; but gluttony was his favourite vice; so that he brought himself to a habit of vomiting, in order to be able to renew his meals at pleasure. His entertainments, though seldom at his own cost, were prodigiously expensive; he frequently invited himself to the tables of his subjects, breakfasting with one, dining with another, and supping with a third, all in the same day. The most memorable of these entertainments, was that made for him by his brother, on his arrival at Rome. In this, were served up two thousand several dishes of fish, and seven thousand fowl of the most valuable kinds. But in one particular dish, he seemed to have outdone all the former profusion of the most luxurious Romans. This dish, which was of such magnitude as to be called the shield of Minerva, was filled with an olio made from the sounds of the fish called scari, the brains of pheasants and woodcocks, the tongues of the

most costly birds, and the spawn of lampreys brought from the Carpathian sea. In order to cook this dish properly, a furnace was built in the fields, as it was too large for any kitchen to contain it.

In this manner did this beastly creature proceed, spending his time in the most gross sensualities; so that Josephus tells us, that if he had reigned long, the whole empire would not have been sufficient to have maintained his gluttony. All the attendants of his court sought to raise themselves, not by their virtue or abilities, but the sumptuousness of their entertainments. This prodigality produced its attendant, want; and that, in turn, gave rise to cruelty.

Those who had formerly been his associates, were now destroyed without mercy. Going to visit one of them in a violent fever, he mingled poison with his water, and delivered it to him with his own hands. He never pardoned those money lenders who came to demand payment of his former debts. One of the number coming to salute him, he immediately ordered him to be carried off to execution; but shortly after, commanding him to be brought back, when all his attendants thought it was to pardon the unhappy creditor, Vitellius soon gave them to understand, that it was merely to have the pleasure of feeding his eyes with his torments. Having condemned another to death, he executed his two sons with him, only for their presuming to intercede for their father. A Roman knight being dragged away to execution, and crying out

that he had made the emperor his heir, Vitellius demanded to see the will, where finding himself joint heir with another, he ordered both to be executed, that he might enjoy the legacy without a partner.

By the continuance of such vices and cruelties as these, he became, not only a burthen to himself, but odious to all mankind. The astrologers, a set of people who seldom fail to foretell the ruin of one whose whole study it is to become inimical to the world, began by prognosticating his downfall. A writing was set up in the Forum to this effect: "We, in the name of the ancient Chaldeans, give Vitellius warning to depart this life by the calends of October." Vitellius, on his part, received their information with terror, and ordered all the astrologers to be banished from Rome. An old woman having foretold, that if he survived his mother, he should reign many years in happiness and security, this gave him a desire of putting her to death; which he did, by refusing her sustenance under pretence of its being prejudicial to her health. But he soon saw the futility of relying upon such vain prognostications; for his soldiers, by their cruelty and rapine, having become insupportable to the inhabitants of Rome, the legions of the East, who had at first acquiesced in his dominion, began to revolt; and, shortly after, unanimously resolved to make Vespasian emperor.

Vespasian, who was appointed commander against the rebellious Jews, had reduced most

of their country, except Jerusalem, to subjection. The death of Nero, however, had at first interrupted the progress of his arms; and the succession of Galba gave a temporary check to his conquests, as he was obliged to send his son Titus to Rome, to receive that emperor's commands. Titus, however, was so long detained by contrary winds, that he received news of Galba's death before he set sail. He then resolved to continue neuter, during the civil wars between Otho and Vitellius; and when the latter prevailed, he gave him his homage with reluctance. But being desirous of acquiring reputation, though he disliked the government, he determined to lay siege to Jerusalem, and actually made preparations for that great undertaking, when he was given to understand, that Vitellius was detested by all ranks in the empire. These murmurings increased every day; while Vespasian secretly endeavoured to advance the discontents of his army. By these means they began, at length, to fix their eyes upon him as a person the most capable and willing to terminate the miseries of his country, and put a period to the injuries it suffered. Not only the legions under his command, but those in Mæsia and Pannonia came to the same resolution, so that they declared themselves for Vespasian. He was also, without his own consent, proclaimed emperor at Alexandria, the army there confirming their suffrages with extraordinary applause, and paying their accustomed homage. Still, however, Vespasian

seemed to decline the honours done him; till, at length, his soldiers compelled him, with their threats of immediate death, to accept a title, which, in all probability, he wished to enjoy. He now, therefore, called a council of war, where it was resolved that his son Titus should carry on the war against the Jews; and that Mutianus, one of his generals, should, with the greatest part of his legions, enter Italy; while Vespasian himself should levy forces in all parts of the East, in order to reinforce them, in case of necessity.

During these preparations, Vitellius, though buried in sloth and luxury, was resolved to make an effort to defend the empire; wherefore, his chief commanders, Valens and Cecinna, were ordered to made all possible preparations to resist the invaders. The first army that entered Italy with a hostile intention, was under the command of Antonius Primus, who was met by Cecinna near Cremona. A battle was expected to ensue; but a negotiation taking place, Cecinna was prevailed upon to change sides, and declare for Vespasian. His army, however, quickly repented of what they had done; and, imprisoning their general, attacked Antonius, though without a leader. The engagement continued during the whole night; and, in the morning, after a short repast, both armies engaged a second time; when the soldiers of Antonius saluting the rising sun, according to custom, the Vitellians supposing that they had received new reinforcements, betook themselves to flight, with the loss

of thirty thousand men. Shortly after, freeing their general Cecinna from prison, they prevailed upon him to intercede with the conquerors for pardon, which they obtained; though not without the most horrid barbarities committed upon the citizens of Cremona, whither they had retired for shelter.

In the mean time, Vitellius was wallowing in all kinds of luxury and excess. However, when informed of the defeat of his army, his former insolence was converted into an extreme of timidity and irresolution. At length, rousing from his lethargy of protracted vice, he commanded Julius Priscus and Alphenus Varus, with some forces that were in readiness, to guard the passes of the Apennines, to prevent the enemy's march to Rome; reserving the principal body of his army, to secure the city, under the command of his brother Lucius. But, being persuaded to repair to his army in person, his presence only served to increase the contempt of his soldiers. He there appeared irresolute, and still luxurious; without counsel or conduct; ignorant of war; and demanding from others those instructions which it was his duty to give. After a short continuance in the camp, and understanding the revolt of his fleet, he returned once more to Rome, ever fearful of the last blow, and always careless as to the principal object of his concern. Every day, however, only served to render his affairs still more desperate; till, at last, he made offers to Vespasian of resigning the empire, provided his

life were spared, and a sufficient revenue allotted for his support. In order to enforce this request, he issued from his palace in deep mourning, with all his domestics weeping round him. He then went to offer the sword of justice to Cecilius, the consul; which he refusing, the abject emperor prepared to lay down the ensigns of empire in the temple of Concord. But being interrupted by some, who cried out, that he himself was Concord, he resolved, upon so weak an encouragement, still to maintain his power, and immediately prepared for his defence.

During this fluctuation of counsels, one Sabinus, who had advised Vitellius to resign, perceiving his desperate situation, resolved, by a bold step, to oblige Vespasian; and accordingly seized upon the Capitol. But he was premature in his attempt; for the soldiers of Vitellius attacked him with great fury; and prevailing by their numbers, soon laid that beautiful building in ashes. During this dreadful conflagration, Vitellius was feasting in the palace of Tiberius, and beholding all the horrors of the assault with great satisfaction. Sabinus was taken prisoner, and shortly after executed by the emperor's command. Young Domitian, his nephew, who was afterwards emperor, escaped by flight, in the habit of a priest; and all the rest who survived the fire were put to the sword.

But this transient gleam of success served little to improve the affairs of Vitellius; he vainly sent messenger after messenger, to bring Vespa-

sian's general, Antonius, to a composition: this commander gave no answer to his requests, but still continued his march towards Rome. Being arrived before the walls of the city, the forces of Vitellius were resolved upon defending it to the utmost extremity. It was attacked on three sides with the utmost fury; while the army within, sallying upon the besiegers, defended it with equal obstinacy. The battle lasted a whole day; till, at last, the besieged were driven into the city, and a dreadful slaughter made of them in all the streets, which they vainly attempted to defend. In the mean time the citizens stood by, looking on as both sides fought; and, as if they had been in a theatre, clapped their hands; at one time encouraging one party, and again the other. As either turned their backs, the citizens would then fall upon them in their places of refuge, and so kill and plunder them without mercy. But what was still more remarkable, during these dreadful slaughters, both within and without the city, the people could not be prevented from celebrating one of their most riotous feasts, called the Saturnalia; so that at one time might have been seen a strange mixture of mirth and misery, of cruelty and lewdness; in one place, buryings and slaughters; in another, drunkenness and feasting: here streams of blood, and heaps of mangled bodies; there lewd debaucheries and shameless strumpets: in a word, all the horrors of a civil war, and all the licentiousness of the most abandoned security.

During this complicated scene of misery, Vitellius, who had been the cause of it all, retired privately to his wife's house, upon mount Aventine, designing that night to fly to the army commanded by his brother at Tarracina: but quite incapable, through fear, of forming any resolution, he changed his mind, and returned again to his palace, now void and desolate; all his slaves now forsaking him in his distress, and purposely avoiding his presence. There, after wandering for some time, quite disconsolate, and fearing the face of every creature, he hid himself in an obscure corner; from whence he was soon taken by a party of the conquering soldiers. Still, however, willing to add a few hours more to his miserable life, he begged to be kept in prison till the arrival of Vespasian at Rome, pretending that he had secrets of importance to discover. But his entreaties were vain: the soldiers binding his hands behind him, and throwing a halter round his neck, led him along, half naked, into the public Forum, upbraiding him as they proceeded, with all those bitter reproaches their malice could suggest, or his own cruelty might deserve. They also tied his hair backwards, as was usual with the most infamous malefactors; and held the point of a sword under his chin, to prevent his hiding his face from the public. Some cast dirt and filth upon him as he passed; others struck him with their hands; some ridiculed the defects of his person, his red fiery face, and the enormous greatness of his belly.

At length, being come to the place of punishment, they killed him with many blows; and then dragging the dead body through the streets with a hook, they threw it with all possible ignominy into the river Tiber. Such was the merited end of this brutal emperor, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, after a short reign of eight months and five days; so that Plutarch compares this emperor and his two predecessors, to the kings in tragedies, who just appear upon the stage, and then are destroyed. Vitellius seemed the only tyrant who entered upon his command with cruelty: Nero and Caligula gave the beginnings of their reign to mercy and justice: but this monster was first advanced for his vices; began his government with cruelty; continued it with universal detestation; and died to the satisfaction of all mankind.

CHAPTER XI.

Vespasian, the Tenth Emperor.

A. D. 70. VITELLIUS being now no more, the conquering army pursued the enemy throughout the whole city, while neither houses nor temples afforded refuge to the fugitives. The streets and public places were all strewed with dead; each man lying slain where it was his

misfortune to be overtaken by his unmerciful pursuers. But not only the enemy suffered in this manner, but many of the citizens, who were obnoxious to the soldiers, were dragged from their houses, and killed without any form of trial. The heat of their resentment being somewhat abated, they next began to seek for plunder; and under pretence of searching for the enemy, left no place without marks of their rage or rapacity. Besides the soldiers, the lower rabble joined in these detestable outrages; some of the basest slaves came and discovered the riches of their masters; some were detected by their nearest friends; the whole city was filled with outcry and lamentation; insomuch that the former ravages of Otho and Vitellius were now considered as slight evils n comparison.

At length, however, upon the arrival of Mutianus, general to Vespasian, these slaughters ceased, and the state began to wear an appearance of former tranquillity. Vespasian was declared emperor, by the unanimous consent both of the senate and the army; and dignified with all those titles which now followed rather the power, than the merit of those who were appointed to govern. Messengers were dispatched to him into Egypt, desiring his return, and testifying the utmost desire for his government. But the winter being dangerous for sailing, he deferred his voyage to a more convenient season. Perhaps, also, the dissensions in other parts of the empire, retarded his return to Rome; for Claudius Ci-

vilis, in Lower Germany, excited his countrymen to revolt, and destroyed the Roman garrisons which were placed in different parts of that province. Yet, to give his rebellion an air of justice, he caused his army to swear allegiance to Vespasian, until he found himself in a condition to throw off the mask. When he thought himself sufficiently powerful, he disclaimed all submission to the Roman government, and having overcome one or two of the lieutenants of the empire, and being joined by such of the Romans as refused obedience to the new emperor, he boldly advanced to give Cerealis, Vespasian's general, battle. In the beginning of this engagement he seemed successful, breaking the Roman legions, and putting their cavalry to flight. But, at length, Cerealis, by his conduct, turned the fate of the day; and not only routed the enemy, but took and destroyed their camp. This engagement, however, was not decisive; several others ensued with doubtful success. An accommodation, at length, determined what arms could not effect. Civilis obtained peace for his countrymen and pardon for himself; for the Roman empire was, at this time, so torn by its own divisions, that the barbarous nations around made incursions with impunity, and were sure of obtaining peace, whenever they thought proper to demand it.

During the time of these commotions in Germany, the Sarmatians, a barbarous nation to the north-east of the empire, suddenly passed the

river Ister, and marching into the Roman dominions with celerity and fury, destroyed several garrisons, and an army under the command of Fonteius Agrippa. However, they were driven back with some slaughter, by Rubrius Gallus, Vespasian's lieutenant, into their native forests; where several attempts were made to confine them by garrisons and forts placed along the confines of their country. But these hardy nations, having once found the way into the empire, never after desisted from invading it at every opportunity; till, at length, they overran and destroyed the glory of Rome.

Vespasian continued some months at Alexandria in Egypt, where, it is said, he cured a blind and lame man by touching them. Before he set out for Rome, he gave his son Titus the command of the army that was to lay siege to Jerusalem; while he himself went forward, and was met many miles from Rome by all the senate, and near half the inhabitants, who gave the sincerest testimonies of their joy, in having an emperor of such great and experienced virtues. Nor did he in the least disappoint their expectations; being equally assiduous in rewarding merit, and pardoning his adversaries; in reforming the manners of the citizens, and setting them the best example in his own.

In the mean time, Titus carried on the war against the Jews with vigour. This obstinate and infatuated people had long resolved to resist the Roman power, vainly hoping to find pro-

tection from Heaven, which their impieties had utterly offended. Their own historian represents them, as arrived at the highest pitch of iniquity; while famines, earthquakes, and prodigies, all conspired to forewarn their approaching ruin. Nor was it sufficient that heaven and earth seemed combined against them; they had the most bitter dissensions among themselves, and were split into two parties, that robbed and destroyed each other with impunity; still pillaging, and, at the same time, boasting their zeal for the religion of their ancestors.

At the head of one of those parties was an incendiary, whose name was John. This fanatic affected sovereign power, and filled the whole city of Jerusalem, and all the towns around, with tumult and pillage. In a short time, a new faction arose, headed by one Simon, who gathering together multitudes of robbers and murderers, who had fled to the mountains, attacked many cities and towns, and reduced all Idumea into his power. Jerusalem, at length, became the theatre in which these two demagogues began to exercise their mutual animosity; John was possessed of the temple, while Simon was admitted into the city, both equally enraged against each other; while slaughter and devastation followed their pretensions. Thus did a city, formerly celebrated for peace and unity, become the seat of tumult and confusion.

It was in this miserable situation that Titus came to sit down before it with his conquering

army, and began his operations within about six furlongs of the place. It was at the feast of the Passover, when the place was filled with an infinite multitude of people, who had come from all parts to celebrate that great solemnity, that Titus undertook to besiege it. His presence produced a temporary reconciliation between the contending factions within; so that they unanimously resolved to oppose the common enemy first, and then decide their domestic quarrels at a more convenient season. Their first sally, which was made with much fury and resolution, put the Romans into great disorder, and obliged them to abandon their camp, and fly to the mountains. However, rallying immediately after, the Jews were forced back into the city; while Titus, in person, showed surprising instances of valour and conduct.

These advantages over the Romans, only renewed in the besieged their desires of private vengeance. A tumult ensued in the temple, in which several of both parties were slain: and in this manner, upon every remission from without, the factions of John and Simon violently raged against each other within; agreeing only in their resolution to defend the city against the Romans.

Jerusalem was strongly fortified by three walls on every side, except where it was fenced by deep valleys. Titus began by battering down the outward wall, which, after much fatigue and danger, he effected; all the time showing the greatest

clemency to the Jews, and offering them repeated assurances of pardon. But this infatuated people refused his proffered kindness with contempt, and imputed his humanity to his fears. Five days after the commencement of the siege, Titus broke through the second wall, and, though driven back by the besieged, he recovered his ground, and made preparations for battering the third wall, which was their last defence. But first he sent Josephus, their countryman, into the city, to exhort them to yield, who, using all his eloquence to persuade them, was only reviled with scoffs and reproaches. The siege was now, therefore, carried on with greater vigour than before; several batteries for engines were raised, which were no sooner built than destroyed by the enemy. At length, it was resolved in council, to surround the whole city with a trench, and thus prevent all relief and succours from abroad. This, which was quickly executed, seemed no way to intimidate the Jews. Though famine and pestilence, its necessary attendant, began now to make the most horrid ravages within the walls, yet this desperate people still resolved to hold out. Though obliged to live upon the most scanty and unwholesome food, though a bushel of corn was sold for six hundred crowns, and the holes and the sewers were ransacked for carcasses that had long since grown putrid, yet they were not to be moved. The famine raged at last to such an excess, that a woman of distinction in the city boiled her

own child to eat it; which horrid account coming to the ears of Titus, he declared that he would bury so abominable a crime in the ruins of their state. He now, therefore, cut down all the woods within a considerable distance of the city, and causing more batteries to be raised, he at length battered down the wall, and in five days entered the citadel by force. Thus reduced to the very verge of ruin, the remaining Jews still deceived themselves with absurd and false expectations, while many false prophets deluded the multitude, declaring, they should soon have assistance from God. The heat of the battle was now, therefore, gathered round the inner wall of the temple, while the defendants desperately combated from the top. Titus was willing to save this beautiful structure, but a soldier casting a brand into some adjacent buildings, the fire communicated to the temple, and, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours on both sides, the whole edifice was quickly consumed. The sight of the temple in ruins, effectually served to damp the ardour of the Jews. They now began to perceive, that Heaven had forsaken them, while their cries and lamentations echoed from the adjacent mountains. Even those who were almost expiring, lifted up their dying eyes to bewail the loss of their temple, which they valued more than life itself. The most resolute, however, still endeavoured to defend the upper and stronger part of the city, named Sion; but Titus, with his battering engines, soon made himself entire master

of the place. John and Simon were taken from the vaults where they had concealed themselves; the former was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the latter reserved to grace the conqueror's triumph. The greatest part of the populace were put to the sword, and the city was entirely razed by the plough; so that, according to our Saviour's prophecy, not one stone remained upon another. Thus, after a siege of six months, this noble city was totally destroyed, having flourished, under the peculiar protection of Heaven, about two thousand years. The numbers who perished in this siege, according to Josephus, amounted to above a million of souls, and the captives to almost a hundred thousand. The temporal state of the Jews ended with their city; while the wretched survivors were banished, sold, and dispersed into all parts of the world.

Upon the taking of Jerusalem, his soldiers would have crowned Titus as conqueror, but he modestly refused the honour, alleging, that he was only an instrument in the hand of Heaven, that manifestly declared its wrath against the Jews. At Rome, however, all men's mouths were filled with the praises of the conqueror, who had not only shown himself an excellent general, but a courageous combatant: his return, therefore, in triumph, which he did with his father, was marked with all the magnificence and joy that was in the power of men to express. All things that were esteemed valuable or beautiful

among men, were brought to adorn this great occasion. Among the rich spoils, were exposed vast quantities of gold, taken out of the temple; but the Book of the Holy Law was not the least remarkable among the magnificent profusion. This was the first time that ever Rome saw the father and the son triumph together. A triumphal arch was erected upon this occasion, on which were described all the victories of Titus over the Jews, which remains almost entire to this very day. Vespasian likewise built a temple to Peace, wherein were deposited most of the Jewish spoils; and having now calmed all commotions in every part of the empire, he shut up the temple of Janus, which had been open about five or six years.

Vespasian having thus given security and peace to the empire, resolved to correct numberless abuses, which had grown up under the tyranny of his predecessors. To effect this with greater ease, he joined Titus with him in the consulship and tribunitial power; and, in some measure, admitted him a partner in all the highest offices of the state. He began with restraining the licentiousness of the army, and forcing them back to their pristine discipline. He ordered a young officer to be broke for being perfumed, declaring he had rather he had stunk of garlick. Some military messengers desiring money to buy shoes, he ordered them for the future to perform their journeys barefoot. He was not less strict with regard to the senators and the

knights. He turned out such as were a disgrace to their station, and supplied their places with the most worthy men he could find. He abridged the processes that had been carried to an unreasonable length in the courts of justice. He took care to re-edify such parts of the city as had suffered in the late commotions; particularly the Capitol, which had been lately burnt; and which he now restored to more than former magnificence. He likewise built a famous amphitheatre, the ruins of which are to this day an evidence of its ancient grandeur. The other ruinous cities in the empire also shared his paternal care; he improved such as were declining, adorned others, and built many anew. In such acts as these, he passed a long reign of clemency and moderation; so that it is said, no man suffered by an unjust or a severe decree during his administration.

Julius Sabinus seems to be the only person who was treated with greater rigour than was usual with this emperor. Sabinus, as was just mentioned before, was commander of a small army in Gaul, and had declared himself emperor upon the death of Vitellius. However, his army was shortly after overcome by Vespasian's general, and he himself compelled to seek safety by flight. He for some time wandered through the Roman provinces without being discovered; but finding the pursuit every day become closer, he was obliged to hide himself in a cave, in which he remained concealed for no less than nine years, attended all the time by his faithful

wife Epponina, who provided provisions for his support by day, and repaired to him in the night. She was at length discovered in the performance of this pious office, and Sabinus was taken prisoner and carried to Rome. Several intercessions were made to the emperor in his behalf; Epponina herself appearing, with her two children, and imploring her husband's pardon. However, neither her tears nor entreaties could prevail; Sabinus had been too dangerous a rival to obtain mercy; so that, though she and her children were spared, her husband suffered by the executioner.

But this seems to be the only instance in which he resented past offences. He caused the daughter of Vitellius, his avowed enemy, to be married into a noble family; and he himself provided her a suitable fortune. One of Nero's servants coming to entreat pardon for having once rudely thrust him out of the palace, and insulting him when in office, Vespasian only took his revenge by serving him just in the same manner. When any plots or conspiracies were formed against him, he disdained to punish the guilty; saying, that they deserved rather his contempt for their ignorance, than his resentment; as they seemed to envy him a dignity of which he daily experienced the uneasiness. When he was seriously advised to beware of Metius Pomposianus, against whom there was strong cause of suspicion, he raised him to the dignity of consul; adding,

that the time would come when he must be sensible of so great a benefit.

His liberality in the encouragement of arts and learning was not less than his clemency. He settled a constant salary of a hundered thousand sesterces upon the teachers of rhetoric. He was particularly favourable to Josephus, the Jewish historian. Quintilian, the orator, and Pliny, the naturalist, flourished in his reign, and were highly esteemed by him. He was no less an encourager of all other excellences in art, and invited the greatest masters and artificers from all parts of the world, making them considerable presents as he found occasion.

Yet all his numerous acts of generosity and magnificence, could not preserve his character from the imputation of rapacity and avarice. He revived many obsolete methods of taxation, and even bought and sold commodities himself, in order to increase his fortune. He is charged with advancing the most avaricious governors to the provinces, in order to share their plunder on their return to Rome. He descended to some very unusual and dishonourable imposts, even to the laying a tax upon urine. When his son Titus remonstrated against the meanness of such a tax, Vespasian taking a piece of money, demanded if the smell offended him; adding, that this very money was produced by urine. But the avarice of princes is generally a virtue when their own expences are but few. The exche-

quer, when Vespasian came to the throne, was so much exhausted, that he informed the senate that it would require a supply of three hundred millions (of our money) to re-establish the commonwealth. This necessity must naturally produce more numerous and heavy taxations than the empire had hitherto experienced: but while the provinces were thus obliged to contribute to the support of his power, he took every precaution to provide for their safety; so that we find but two insurrections in his reign.

In the fourth year of his reign, Antiochus, king of Comagena, holding a private correspondence with the Parthians, the declared enemies of Rome, was taken prisoner in Cilicia, by Pœtus, the governor, and sent bound to Rome. But Vespasian generously prevented all ill treatment towards him, by giving him a residence at Lacedæmon, and allowing him a revenue suitable to his dignity.

About the same time also, the Alani, a barbarous people, inhabiting along the river Tanais, abandoned their barren wilds, and invaded the kingdom of Media. From thence passing like a torrent into Armenia, after great ravages, they overthrew Tiridates, the king of that country, with prodigious slaughter. Titus was at length sent to chastise their insolence, and relieve a king that was in alliance with Rome. However, the barbarians retired at the approach of the Roman army, loaden with plunder; being, in some measure, compelled to

A. D. 73.

wait a more favourable opportunity of renewing their irruptions.

But these incursions were as a transient storm, the effects of which were soon repaired by the emperor's moderation and assiduity. We are told, that he new-formed and established a thousand nations, which had scarcely before amounted to two hundred. No provinces in the empire lay out of his view and protection. He had, during his whole reign, a particular regard to Britain; his generals, Petilius Cerelis and Julius Frontinus, brought the greatest part of the island into subjection; and Agricola, who succeeded soon after, completed what they had begun.

Such long and uninterrupted success no way increased this emperor's vanity. He ever seemed averse to those swelling titles which the senate and people were constantly offering him. When the king of Parthia, in one of his letters, styled himself king of kings, Vespasian in his answer, only called himself simply Flavius Vespasian. He was so far from attempting to hide the meanness of his original, that he frequently mentioned it in company; and when some flatterers were for deriving his pedigree from Hercules, he despised and derided the meanness of their adulation. In this manner, having reigned ten years, loved by his subjects and deserving their affection, he was surprised with an indisposition at Campania, which from the beginning he declared would be fatal, crying out, in the spirit of paganism, "Methinks I am going to be a god."

Removing from thence to the city, and afterwards to a country-seat near Rome, he was there taken with a flux, which brought him to the last extremity. However, perceiving his end approaching, and as he was just going to expire, he cried out, that an emperor ought to die standing; wherefore, raising himself upon his feet, he expired in the hands of those that sustained him.

"He was a man," says Pliny, "in whom "power made no alteration, except in giving "him the opportunity of doing good equal to his "will." He was the second Roman emperor that died a natural death; and he was peaceably succeeded by Titus his son.

CHAPTER XII.

Titus, the Eleventh Emperor.

TITUS being joyfully received as emperor, notwithstanding a slight opposition from his brother Domitian, who maintained that he himself was appointed, and that Titus had falsified the will, began to reign with the practice of every virtue that became an emperor and a man. During the life of his father, there had been many imputations against him, both for cruelty, lust, and prodigality; but, upon his exaltation to the throne, he seemed entirely to

A. D. 79.

take leave of his former vices, and become an example of the greatest moderation and humanity. His first step towards gaining the affections of his subjects, was his moderating his passions, and bridling his strong inclinations. He had long loved Berenice, sister to Agrippa, king of Judæa, a woman of the greatest beauty and refined allurements. But knowing that the connection with her was entirely disagreeable to the people of Rome, he gained a victory over his affections, and sent her away, notwithstanding their mutual passion, and the many arts she used to induce him to change his resolutions. He next discarded all those who had been the former ministers of his pleasures, and forbore to countenance the companions of his looser recreations, though he had formerly taken great pains in the selection. This moderation, added to his justice and generosity, procured him the love of all the good men, and the appellation of The Delight of Mankind; which all his actions seemed calculated to ensure.

As he came to the throne with all the advantage of his father's popularity, he was resolved to use every method to increase it. He therefore took particular care to punish all informers, false witnesses, and promoters of dissension. Those wretches, who had their rise in the licentiousness and impunity of former reigns, were now become so numerous, that their crimes called loudly for punishment. Of these, therefore, he daily made public examples; condemning them to be

scourged in the most public streets; next to be dragged through the theatre, and then to be banished into the uninhabited parts of the empire, or sold as slaves. He exhibited also many shows, which were very sumptuous and magnificent. He, in one day, caused five thousand wild beasts to be baited in the amphitheatre for the entertainment of the people. These public rejoicings were continued for a hundred days together; during which, he permitted the people to dictate the manner in which they should choose to be entertained. His courtesy and readiness to do good have been celebrated even by Christian writers; his principal rule being never to send any petitioner dissatisfied away. One night, recollecting that he had done nothing beneficial to mankind the day preceding, he cried out among his friends, "I have lost a day;" a sentence too remarkable not to be universally known.

He was so tender of the lives of his subjects, that he took upon him the office of pontifex maximus or high priest, to keep his hands undefiled with blood. He so little regarded such as censured or abused him, that he was heard to say, "When I do nothing worthy of censure, why "should I be displeased at it?" He was even heard to affirm, that he had rather die himself than put another to death. Learning that two noblemen had conspired against him, he readily forgave them, and the next day placing them next himself in the theatre, he put the swords with which the gladiators fought into their hands,

demanding their judgment and approbation, whether they were of sufficient shortness. He pardoned his brother Domitian in the same manner, who had actually prepared all things for an open rebellion.

In this reign an eruption of mount Vesuvius did considerable damage, overwhelming many towns, and sending its ashes into countries more than a hundred miles distant. Upon this memorable occasion, Pliny, the naturalist, lost his life; for being impelled by too eager a curiosity to observe the eruption, he was suffocated in the flames. There happened also about this time a fire at Rome, which continued three days and nights successively, being followed by a plague, in which ten thousand men were buried in a day. The emperor, however, did all that lay in his power to repair the damages sustained by the public; and, with respect to the city, declared that he would take the whole loss of that upon himself.

These disasters were, in some measure, counterbalanced by the successes in Britain, under Agricola. This excellent general having been sent into that country towards the latter end of Vespasian's reign, showed himself equally expert in quelling the refractory, and civilizing those who had formerly submitted to the Roman power. The Ordovices, or inhabitants of North Wales, were the first that were subdued. He then made a descent upon Mona, or the island of Anglesey, which surrendered at discretion. Having thus

rendered himself master of the whole country, he took every method to restore discipline to his own army, and to introduce some share of politeness among those whom he had conquered. He exhorted them, both by advice and example, to build temples, theatres, and stately houses. He caused the sons of their nobility to be instructed in the liberal arts; he had them taught the Latin language, and induced them to imitate the Roman modes of dress and living. Thus, by degrees, this barbarous people began to assume the luxurious manners of their conquerors, and in some time, even to outdo them, in all the refinements of sensual pleasure. For these successes in Britain, Titus was saluted emperor the fifteenth time; but he did not long survive this honour, being surprised by a violent fever at a little distance from Rome. Perceiving his death approach, he declared, that, during the whole course of his life, he knew but one action of which he repented; and that action he did not think proper to express. He expired shortly after, but not without suspicion of treachery from his brother Domitian, who had long wished to govern. His death was in the forty-first year of his age, having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days.

CHAPTER XIII.

Domitian, the Twelfth Emperor.

A. D. 81. The love which all ranks of people bore to Titus, facilitated the election of his brother Domitian, notwithstanding the ill opinion many had already conceived of him. His ambition was already but too well known, and his pride soon appeared upon his coming to the throne; having been heard to declare, that he had given the empire to his father and brother, and now received it again as his due.

The beginning of his reign was universally acceptable to the people, as he appeared equally remarkable for his clemency, liberality, and justice. He carried his abhorrence of cruelty so far, as, at one time, to forbid the sacrificing of oxen. His liberality was such, that he would not accept of the legacies that were left him by such as had children of their own. His justice was such, that he would sit whole days, and reverse the partial sentences of the ordinary judges. He appeared very careful and liberal in repairing the libraries that had been burnt, and recovering copies of such books as had been lost, sending purposely to Alexandria to transcribe and correct them.

But he soon began to show the natural deformity of his mind. Instead of cultivating lite-

rature, as his father and brother had done, he neglected all kinds of study, addicting himself wholly to meaner pursuits, particularly archery and gaming. He was so very expert an archer, that he would frequently cause one of his slaves to stand at a great distance, with his hand spread as a mark, and would shoot his arrows with such exactness, as to stick them all between his fingers. He instituted three sorts of contests to be observed every five years; in music, horsemanship, and wrestling; but at the same time he banished all philosophers and mathematicians from Rome. No emperor before him entertained the people with such various and expensive shows. During these diversions he distributed great rewards, sitting as president himself, adorned with a purple robe and crown, with the priests of Jupiter and the college of Flavian priests about him. The meanness of his occupations in solitude, was a just contrast to his exhibitions of public ostentation. He usually spent his hours of retirement in catching flies, and sticking them through with a bodkin; so that one of his servants being asked, if the emperor were alone, answered, that he had not so much as a fly to bear him company.

His vices seemed every day to increase with the duration of his reign; and as he thus became more odious to the people, all their murmurs only served to add strength to his suspicions, and malice to his cruelty. His ungrateful treatment of Agricola seemed the first symptom of his natural malevolence. Domitian was always par-

ticularly fond of obtaining a military reputation, and therefore jealous of it in others. He had marched some time before, into Gaul, upon a pretended expedition against the Catti, a people of Germany; and without ever seeing the enemy, resolved to have the honour of a triumph upon his return to Rome. For that purpose he purchased a number of slaves, whom he dressed in German habits, and at the head of this miserable procession entered the city, amidst the apparent acclamations, and concealed contempt, of all his subjects. The successes, therefore, of Agricola in Britain, affected him with an extreme degree of envy. This admirable general, who is scarce mentioned by any other writer except Tacitus, pursued the advantages which he had already obtained. He subdued the Caledonians; and overcame Galgacus, the British chief, at the head of thirty thousand men; and, afterwards sending out a fleet to scour the coast, first discovered Great Britain to be an island. He likewise discovered and subdued the Orkneys, and thus reduced the whole into a civilized province of the Roman empire. When the account of these successes was brought to Domitian, he received it with a seeming pleasure, but real uneasiness. He thought Agricola's rising reputation a tacit reproach upon his own inactivity; and, instead of attempting to emulate, he resolved to suppress the merit of his services. He ordered him, therefore, external marks of approbation; and took care that triumphant ornaments, statues, and other

honours, should be decreed him: but at the same time he removed him from his command, under a pretence of appointing him to the government of Syria. By these means, Agricola surrendered up his province to Sallustius Lucullus, but soon found that Syria was otherwise disposed of. Upon his return to Rome, which was privately, and by night, he was coolly received by the emperor; and, dying some time after in retirement, it was supposed by some, that his end was hastened by Domitian's direction.

Domitian soon after found the want of so experienced a commander, in the many irruptions of the barbarous nations that surrounded the empire. The Sarmatians in Europe, joined with those of Asia, made a formidable invasion, at once destroying a whole legion, and a general of the Romans. The Dacians, under the conduct of Decebalus their king, made an irruption, and overthrew the Romans in several engagements. The contests now were not for the limits of the empire and the banks of the Danube, but the provinces themselves were in danger. Losses were followed by losses; so that every season became memorable for some remarkable overthrow. At last, however, the state making a vigorous exertion of its internal power, the barbarians were repelled, partly by force, and partly by the assistance of money; which only served to enable them to make future invasions with greater advantage. But in whatever manner the enemy might have been repelled, Domitian was

resolved not to lose the honours of a triumph. He returned in great splendour to Rome; and, not contented with thus triumphing twice without a victory, he resolved to take the surname of Germanicus, for his conquest over a people with whom he never contended.

In proportion as the ridicule increased against him, his pride seemed every day to demand greater homage. He would permit his statues to be made only of gold and silver: he assumed to himself divine honours; and ordered that all men should treat him with the same appellations which they gave to the divinity. His cruelty was not behind his arrogance; he caused numbers of the most illustrious senators, and others, to be put to death upon the most trifling pretences. One Ælius Lama was condemned and executed only for jesting, though there was neither novelty nor poignancy in his humour. Coccaneus was murdered only for celebrating the nativity of Otho. Pomposianus shared the same fate, because it was foretold by an astrologer that he should be emperor. Salustius Lucullus, his lieutenant in Britain, was destroyed only for having given his name to a new sort of lances of his own invention. Junius Rusticus died for publishing a book, in which he commended Thrasea and Priscus, two philosophers, who opposed Vespasian's coming to the throne.

Such cruelties as these, that seem almost without a motive, must have consequently produced rebellion. Lucius Antonius, governor of Upper

Germany, knowing how much the emperor was detested at home, resolved upon striking for the throne; and, accordingly, assumed the ensigns of imperial dignity. As he was at the head of a formidable army, his success remained a long time doubtful; but a sudden overflowing of the Rhine dividing his army, he was set upon at that juncture by Normandus the emperor's general, and totally routed. The news of this victory, we are told, was brought to Rome by supernatural means, on the same day that the battle was fought. Domitian's severity was greatly increased by this short-lived success. In order to discover those who were accomplices with the adverse party, he invented new tortures; sometimes cutting off the hands, at other times thrusting fire into the privities of those whom he suspected of being his enemies. During these severities, he aggravated their guilt by hypocrisy, never pronouncing sentence without a preamble full of gentleness and mercy. The night before he crucified the comptroller of his household, he treated him with the most seeming friendship, and ordered him a dish of meat from his own table. He carried Aretinus Clemens with him in his own litter the day he had concluded upon his death. He was particularly terrible to the senate and nobility; the whole body of whom he frequently threatened to extirpate entirely. At one time, he surrounded the senate-house with his troops, to the great consternation of the senators. At another, he resolved to amuse himself with their terrors in

a different manner. Having invited them to a public entertainment, he received them all very formally at the entrance of his palace, and conducted them into a spacious hall, hung round with black, and illuminated by a few melancholy lamps, that diffused light only sufficient to show the horrors of the place. All around were to be seen nothing but coffins, with the names of each of the senators written upon them, together with other objects of terror, and instruments of execution. While the company beheld all these preparations with silent agony, several men, having their bodies blackened, each with a drawn sword in one hand, and a flaming torch in the other, entered the hall, and danced round them. After some time, when the guests expected nothing less than the most instant death, well knowing Domitian's capricious cruelty, the doors were set open, and one of the servants came to inform them, that the emperor gave all the company leave to withdraw.

These cruelties were rendered still more odious by his lust and avarice. Frequently, after presiding at an execution, he would retire with the lewdest prostitutes, and use the same baths which they did. His avarice, which was the consequence of his profusion, had no bounds. He seized upon the estates of all against whom he could find the smallest pretensions; the most trifling action, or word, against the majesty of the prince, was sufficient to ruin the possessor. He particularly exacted large sums from the rich

Jews, who even then began to practise the arts of money-getting, for which they are at present so remarkable. He was excited against them, not only by avarice, but by jealousy. A prophecy had been long current in the East, that a person from the line of David should rule the world. Whereupon, this suspicious tyrant, willing to evade the prediction, commanded all the Jews of the lineage of David to be diligently sought out and put to death. Two Christians, grandsons of St. Jude the apostle, of that line, were brought before him; but finding them poor, and no way ambitious of temporal power, he dismissed them, considering them as objects too mean for his jealousy. However, his persecution of the Christians was more severe than that of any of his predecessors. By his letters and edicts they were banished in several parts of the empire, and put to death with all the tortures of ingenious cruelty. The predictions of the Chaldeans and astrologers, also, concerning his death, gave him violent apprehensions, and kept him in the most tormenting disquietude. As he approached the end of his reign, he would permit no criminal or prisoner to be brought into his presence, till they were bound in such a manner as to be incapable of injuring him; and he generally secured their chains in his own hands. His jealousies increased to such a degree, that he ordered the gallery in which he walked, to be set round with a pellucid stone, which served as a mirror to reflect the persons of all such as approached him from

behind. Every omen and prodigy gave him fresh anxiety. Ascleterion, the astrologer, was brought before him for publishing predictions concerning his death. As he did not attempt to deny the charge, the emperor demanded if he knew his own fortune? To which the astrologer replied, that he should be devoured by dogs. Upon which, Domitian immediately ordered him to be slain, and, to frustrate his prediction, to be burnt immediately after. But we are told, that, during the execution, a furious tempest arose, which blew down the body; and dispersed the executioners; and in the mean time the body was devoured by dogs, as the poor astrologer had foretold. An accident like this was a sufficient pretext for the death of hundreds. This last part of the tyrant's reign was more insupportable than any of the preceding. Nero exercised his cruelties without being a spectator; but a principal part of the Roman miseries during this reign, was to see and be seen; to behold the stern air and fiery visage of the tyrant, which he had armed against blushing by continued intemperance, directing the tortures, and maliciously pleased with adding poignance to every agony.

But a period was soon to be put to this monster's cruelties. Rome had now, by horrid experience, learned the art of ridding herself of her tyrants. Among the number of those whom he at once caressed and suspected, was his wife Domitia, whom he had taken from Ælius Lama, her former husband. This woman, however, was

become obnoxious to him, for having placed her affections upon one Paris, a player; and he resolved to dispatch her, with several others that he either hated or suspected. It was the tyrant's method to put down the names of all such as he intended to destroy, in his tablets, which he kept about him with great circumspection. Domitia, fortunately happening to get a sight of them, was struck at finding her own name in the catalogue of those fated to destruction. She showed the fatal list to Norbanus and Petronius, præfects of the prætorian bands, who found themselves set down; as likewise to Stephanus, the comptroller of the household, who came into the conspiracy with alacrity. Parthenius also, the chief chamberlain, was of the number; and these, after many consultations, determined to take the first opportunity of putting their design into execution: they at length fixed upon the eighteenth day of September for the completion of their great attempt. Domitian, whose death was every day foretold by the astrologers, who, of consequence, must at last be right in their predictions, was, in some measure, apprehensive of that particular day; and, as he had been ever timorous, so was he now more particularly upon his guard. He had for some time before secluded himself in the most secret recesses of his palace, and at midnight was so affrighted as to leap out of his bed, inquiring of his attendants what hour of the night it was. Upon their falsely assuring him that it was an hour later than that which he

was taught to apprehend, quite transported, as if all danger were past, he prepared to go to the bath. Just then, Petronius, his chamberlain, came to inform him that Stephanus, the comptroller of the household, desired to speak to him upon an affair of the utmost importance. The emperor having given orders that his attendants should retire, Stephanus entered with his hand in a scarf, which he had worn thus for some days, the better to conceal a dagger, as none were permitted to approach the emperor with arms. He began by giving information of a pretended conspiracy, and exhibited a paper, in which the particulars were specified. While Domitian was reading the contents with an eager curiosity, Stephanus drew his dagger, and struck him in the groin. The wound not being mortal, Domitian caught hold of the assassin, and threw him upon the ground, calling out for assistance. He demanded also his sword, that was usually placed under his pillow, and a boy who attended in the apartment, running to fetch it, found only the scabbard, for Parthenius had previously removed the blade. The struggle with Stephanus still continued; Domitian still keeping him under, at one time attempting to wrest the dagger from his hand, at another to tear out his eyes with his fingers. But Parthenius, with his freedman, a gladiator, and two subaltern officers, now coming in, they ran all furiously upon the emperor, and dispatched him with seven wounds. In the mean time, some of the officers of the guard being

alarmed, came to his assistance, but too late to save him; however, they slew Stephanus on the spot.

It is almost incredible what some writers relate concerning Apollonius Tyaneus, who was then at Ephenus. This person, whom some call a magician, and some a philosopher, but who more probably was nothing more than an impostor, was, just at the minute in which Domitian was slain, lecturing in one of the public gardens of the city. But stopping short, all of a sudden he cried out, "Courage, Stephanus, strike the ty-"rant." And then, after a pause, "Rejoice, "my friends, the tyrant dies this day; this day "do I say! the very moment in which I kept si-"lence he suffers for his crimes, he dies!"

Many more prodigies were said to have portended his death; but the fate of such a monster seemed to produce more preternatural disturbances and more predictions than it deserved. The truth seems to be, that a belief in omens and prodigies were again become prevalent; the people were again relapsing into pristine barbarity; a country of ignorance is ever the proper soil for a harvest of imposture.

CHAPTER XIV.

Nerva, the Thirteenth Emperor.

A. D. 96. WHEN it was publicly known that Domitian was slain, the joy of the senate was so great, that being assembed with the utmost haste, they began to load his memory with every reproach. His statues were commanded to be taken down; and a decree was made, that all his inscriptions should be erased, his name struck out of the registers of fame, and his funeral omitted. The people, who now took little part in the affairs of government, looked on his death with indifference; the soldiers alone, whom he had loaded with favours and enriched by largesses, sincerely regretted their benefactor.

The senate, therefore, resolved to provide a successor before the army could have an opportunity of taking the appointment upon themselves; and Cocceius Nerva was chosen to the empire the very day on which the tyrant was slain.

Nerva was of an illustrious family, as most say, by birth a Spaniard, and above sixty-five years old when he was called to the throne. He was, at that time, the most remarkable man in Rome for his virtues, moderation, and respect to the laws; and he owed his exaltation to the blame-

less conduct of his former life. When the senate went to pay him their submissions, he received them with his accustomed humility, while Arius Antonius, his most intimate friend, having embraced him with great familiarity, addressed him in a language very different from that which the former emperors were accustomed to hear. "I come," cried he, "with others, to congratu-"late, not your good fortune, but that of the "Roman empire. You have long escaped the "malice of your enemies, and the cruelty of ty-"rants. Now, at the decline of life, to be "plunged into new troubles and surrounding "dangers, to be exposed, not only to the hatred "of enemies, but to the dangerous requests of "friendship, is not a state to be wished for: "your enemies will naturally envy you; and your "friends, presuming upon your former favour, "if their suits be denied, will become enemies; "so that you must either injure the public, or "lose their favour." Such candid advice was received with proper gratitude; and, indeed, no emperor seemed to want such advice more than he; as the easy indulgence of his disposition made him the prey of his insidious courtiers.

However, an excess of indulgence and humanity were faults that Rome could easily pardon, after the cruelties of such an emperor as Domitian. Being long accustomed to tyranny, they regarded Nerva's gentle reign with rapture, and even gave his imbecility the name of bene-

volence. Upon coming to the throne, he solemnly swore that no senator of Rome should be put to death by his command during his reign, though they gave never so just a cause. This oath he so religiously observed, that when two senators had conspired his death, he used no kind of severity against them; but sending for them, to let them see he was not ignorant of their designs, he carried them with him to the public theatre: there presenting each a dagger, he desired them to strike, as he was determined not to ward off the blow. Such acts of clemency appeared to the multitude as virtues; but others saw them in a different light, and considered them as encouragements to dissolution. One of the principal men in Rome was heard to declare, that it was indeed a misfortune to live under a prince who considered innocence as a crime; but a greater still, to live under one who regarded crimes as innocent. Having one night invited Veiento, one of Domitian's most vicious favourites, to supper, the conversation ran upon the vices of Catullus Messalinus, whose memory was detested for his cruelties during the former reign. As each of the guests mentioned him with horror, Nerva was induced to ask one Mauricus, who sat at table, "What do you think, "Mauricus, would become of such a man now?" "I think," replied Mauricus, pointing to Veiento, "that he would have been invited, as some of "us are, to supper."

However true such sarcasms might have been, Nerva bore them with the utmost good humour. Ever desirous of being rather loved than feared by his subjects, he conferred great favours, and bestowed large gifts, upon his particular friends. His liberality was so extensive, that, upon his first promotion to the empire, he was constrained to sell his gold and silver plate, with his other rich moveables, to enable him to continue his liberalities. He released the cities of the empire from many severe duties, which had been imposed by Vespasian; he took off a rigorous tribute which had been laid upon carriages; and restored those to their property who had been unjustly dispossessed by Domitian.

During his short reign he made several good laws. He particularly prohibited the castration of male children; which had been likewise condemned by his predecessor, but not wholly removed. He put all those slaves to death, who had, during the last reign, informed against their masters. He permitted no statues to be erected in his honour, and converted such of Domitian's as had been spared by the senate, into money. He sold many rich robes, and much of the splendid furniture of the palace, and retrenched several unreasonable expences at court. At the same time, he had so little regard for money, that when one of his subjects found a large treasure, and wrote to the emperor how to dispose of it, he received for answer, that he might *use it*: but the finder still informing the emperor that it

was a fortune too large for a private person, Nerva, admiring his honesty, wrote him word, that then he might *abuse it.*

A life of such generosity and mildness, was not, however without its enemies. Vigilius Rufus, who had opposed him, was not only pardoned, but made his colleague in the consulship. Calpurnius Crassus also, with some others, formed a dangerous conspiracy to destroy him; but Nerva would use no severity: he rested satisfied with banishing those who were culpable, though the senate were for inflicting more rigorous punishments. But the most dangerous insurrection against his interests, was from the prætorian bands, who, headed by Casparius Olianus, insisted upon revenging the late emperor's death, whose memory was still dear to them, from his frequent liberalities. Nerva, whose kindness to good men rendered him more obnoxious to the vicious, did all in his power to stop the progress of this insurrection; he presented himself to the mutinous soldiers, and opening his bosom, desired them to strike there, rather than be guilty of so much injustice. The soldiers, however, paid no regard to his remonstrances, but seizing upon Petronius and Parthenius, slew them in the most ignominious manner. Not content with this, they even compelled the emperor to approve of their sedition, and to make a speech to the people, in which he thanked the cohorts for their fidelity.

So disagreeable a constraint upon the empe-

ror's inclinations, was, in the end, attended with the most happy effects, as it caused the adoption of Trajan to succeed him. Nerva perceived that in the present turbulent disposition of the times, he stood in need of an assistant in the empire, who might share the fatigues of government, and contribute to keep the licentious in awe. For this purpose, setting aside all his own relations, he fixed upon Ulpius Trajan, an utter stranger to his family, who was then governor in Upper Germany, as his successor. Having put his determination in execution, and performed the accustomed solemnities, he instantly sent off ambassadors to Cologne, where Trajan then resided, entreating his assistance in punishing those from whom he had received such an insult.

The adoption of this admirable man, proved so great a curb to the licentiousness of the soldiery, that they continued in perfect obedience during the rest of this reign; and Casparius being sent to him, was by his command either banished or put to death.

The adopting Trajan was the last public act of Nerva. In about three months after, having put himself in a violent passion with one Regulus, a senator, he was seized with a fever, of which he died, after a short reign of one year, four months, and nine days.

He was the first foreign emperor who reigned in Rome, and justly reputed a prince of great generosity and moderation. He is also celebrated

for his wisdom, though with less reason; the greatest instance he gave of it during his reign, being the choice of his successor.

CHAPTER XV.

Trajan, the Fourteenth Emperor.

U. C. 851. A. D. 98. TRAJAN'S family was originally from Italy, but he himself was born at Seville, in Spain. He very early accompanied his father, who was a general of the Romans, in his expeditions along the Euphrates and the Rhine, and while yet very young, acquired a considerable reputation for military accomplishments. He inured his body to fatigue; he made long marches on foot; and laboured to acquire all that skill in war which was necessary for a commander. When he was made general of the army in Lower Germany, which was one of the most considerable employments in the empire, it caused no alteration in his manners or way of living, and the commander was seen no way differing from the private tribune, except in his superior wisdom and virtues. The great qualities of his mind were accompanied with all the

advantages of person. His body was majestic and vigorous; he was at that middle time of life which is happily tempered with the warmth of youth and the caution of age, being forty-two years old. To these qualities were added a modesty that seemed peculiar to himself alone; so that mankind found a pleasure in praising those accomplishments of which the possessor seemed no way conscious. Upon the whole, Trajan is distinguished as the greatest and the best emperor of Rome. Others might have equalled him in war, and some might have been his rivals in clemency and goodness; but he seems the only prince who united these talents in the greatest perfection, and who appears equally to engage our admiration and our regard.

Upon being informed of the death of Nerva, he prepared to return to Rome, whither he was invited by the united entreaties of the state. He therefore began to march with a discipline that was for a long time unknown in the armies of the empire. The countries through which he passed were neither ravaged nor taxed, and he entered the city, not in a triumphant manner, though he had deserved many, but on foot, attended with the civil officers of the state, and followed by his soldiers, who marched silently forward with modesty and respect.

One of the first lectures he received, respecting his conduct in governing the empire, was from Plutarch, the philosopher, who had the honour of being his master. Upon his arrival

at Rome, he is said to have written him a letter, to the following purpose: "Since your merits, "and not your importunities, have advanced you "to the empire, permit me to congratulate your "virtues, and my own good fortune. If your "future government proves answerable to your "former worth, I shall be happy. But if you "become worse for power, yours will be the "danger, and mine the ignominy of your con-"duct. The errors of the pupil will be charged "upon his instructor. Seneca is reproached for "the enormities of Nero; and Socrates and "Quintilian have not escaped censure for the "misconduct of their respective scholars. But "you have it in your power to make me the most "honoured of men, by continuing what you "are. Continue the command of your passions; "and make virtue the scope of all your actions. "If you follow these instructions, then will I "glory in having presumed to give them; if "you neglect what I offer, then will this letter "be my testimony that you have not erred "through the counsel and authority of Plutarch." I have inserted this letter, whether genuine, or not, because it seems to me well written; and a striking picture of this great philosopher's manner of addressing the best of princes.

It would be tedious, and unnecessary, to enter into a detail of this good monarch's labours for the state. His application to business, his moderation to his enemies, his modesty in exaltation, his liberality to the deserving, and his frugality

in his own expences; these have all been the subjects of panegyric among his contemporaries; and they continue to be the admiration of posterity.

Upon giving the præfect of the prætorian bands the sword, according to custom, he made use of this remarkable expression: "Take this "sword, and use it; if I have merit, for me; if "otherwise, against me." After which he added, that he who gave laws was the first who was bound to observe them.

If he had any failings, they were his love of women, which, however, never hurried him beyond the bounds of decency; and his immoderate passion for war, to which he had been bred up from his childhood. The first war he was engaged in after his coming to the throne, was with the Dacians, who, during the reign of Domitian, had committed numberless ravages upon the provinces of the empire. He therefore raised a powerful army, and with great expedition marched into those barbarous countries, where he was vigorously opposed by Decebalus, the Dacian king, who, for a long time, withstood his boldest efforts. At length, however, this monarch being constrained to come to a general battle, and no longer able to protract the war, he was routed with great slaughter, though not without great loss to the conqueror. The Romon soldiers, upon this occasion, wanting linen to bind up their wounds, the emperor tore his own robes to supply them. This victory com-

pelled the enemy to sue for peace, which they obtained on very disadvantageous terms; their king coming into the Roman camp, and acknowledging himself a vassal of the Roman empire.

Upon Trajan's return, after the usual triumphs and rejoicings upon such an occasion were over, he was surprised with an account, that the Dacians had renewed hostilities. Decebalus, their king, was now, therefore, a second time, adjudged an enemy to the Roman state, and Trajan invaded his dominions with an army equal to that with which he had before subdued him. But Decebalus, now grown more cautious by his former defeat, used every art to avoid coming to an engagement. He also put various stratagems in practice, to distress the enemy; and, at one time, Trajan himself was in danger of being slain or taken. He also took Longinus, one of the Roman generals, prisoner, and threatened to kill him, in case Trajan refused granting him terms of peace. But the emperor replied, that peace and war had not their dependence upon the safety of one subject only; wherefore Longinus, some time after, destroyed himself by a voluntary death. The fate of this general seemed to give new vigour to Trajan's operations. In order to be better enabled to invade the enemy's territories at pleasure, he undertook a most stupendous work, which was no less than building a bridge across the Danube. This amazing structure, which was built over a deep, broad, and rapid river, consisted of more than twenty-two

arches, a hundred and fifty feet high, and a hundred and seventy broad: the ruins of this structure, which remain to this day, show modern architects how far they were surpassed by the ancients, both in the greatness and the boldness of their designs. Upon finishing this work, Trajan continued the war with great vigour, sharing with the meanest of his soldiers the fatigues of the campaign, and continually encouraging them to their duty by his own example. By these means, notwithstanding the country was spacious and uncultivated, and the inhabitants brave and hardy, he subdued the whole, and added the kingdom of Dacia as a province to the Roman empire. Decebalus made some attempts to escape, but being surrounded on every side, he at last slew himself, and his head was sent immediately to Rome, to certify his misfortune there. These successes seemed to advance the empire to a greater degree of splendour than it had hitherto acquired. Ambassadors were seen to come from the interior parts of India, to congratulate Trajan's success, and bespeak his friendship. At his return to Rome, he entered the city in triumph; and the rejoicings for his victories lasted for the space of a hundred and twenty days.

Having thus given peace and prosperity to the empire, Trajan continued his reign, loved, honoured, and almost adored, by his subjects. He adorned the city with public buildings; he freed it from such men as lived by their vices; he en-

tertained persons of merit with the utmost familiarity; and so little feared his enemies, that he could scarcely be induced to suppose he had any. Being one day told by some, that his friend and favourite, Sura, was false to him; Trajan, to show how much he relied on his fidelity, went in his ordinary manner to sup with him. There he commanded Sura's surgeon to be brought, whom he ordered to take off the hair about his eye-brows. He then made the barber shave his beard, and after went unconcerned into the bath as usual. The next day, when Sura's accusers were renewing their obloquy, Trajan informing them how he had spent the night, "If," cried he, "Sura had any designs against my life, he then "had the fairest opportunity."

It had been happy for this great prince's memory, if he had shown equal clemency to all his subjects; but, about the ninth year of his reign, he was persuaded to look upon the Christians with
U.C. 860. A.D. 107. a suspicious eye. The extreme veneration which he professed for the religion of the empire, set him sedulously to oppose every innovation, and the progress of Christianity seemed to alarm him. A law had some time before been passed, in which all Heteriæ, or societies dissenting from the established religion, were considered as illegal, being reputed nurseries of imposture and sedition. Under the sanction of this law, the Christians were persecuted in all parts of the empire. Great numbers of them were put to death, as well by popular tu-

mults as by edicts and judicial proceedings. In this persecution, St. Clemens, bishop of Rome, was condemned to be thrown into the sea, with an anchor about his neck; St. Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, at the age of a hundred and twenty, was scourged and crucified; and St. Ignatius, who had a particular dispute with Trajan, at Antioch, was condemned to be thrown to wild beasts, in the amphitheatre at Rome. However, the persecution ceased for some time; for the emperor having advice from Pliny, the proconsul in Bithynia, of the innocence and simplicity of the Christians, and of their inoffensive and moral way of living, he suspended their punishments. But a total stop was put to them upon Tiberianus, the governor of Palestine, sending him word, that he was wearied out with executing the laws against the Galileans, who crowded to execution in such multitudes, that he was at a loss how to proceed. Upon this information, the emperor gave orders, that the Christians should not be sought after; but if any offered themselves, that they should suffer. In this manner the rage of persecution ceased, and the emperor found leisure to turn the force of his arms against the Armenians and Parthians, who now began to throw off all submission to Rome.

While he was employed in these wars, there was a dreadful insurrection of the Jews in all parts of the empire. This wretched people, still infatuated, and ever expecting some signal deliverer, took the advantage of Trajan's absence

in the East, to massacre all the Greeks and Romans which they got into their power, without reluctance or mercy. This rebellion first began in Cyrene, a Roman province in Africa; from thence the flame extended to Egypt, and next to the island of Cyprus. These places, they, in a manner, dispeopled with ungovernable fury. Their barbarities were such, that they eat the flesh of their enemies, wore their skins, sawed them asunder, cast them to wild beasts, made them kill each other, and studied new torments by which to destroy them. However, these cruelties were of no long duration; the governors of the respective provinces making head against their tumultuous fury, soon treated them with a retaliation of cruelty, and put them to death, not as human beings, but as outrageous pests to society. As the Jews had practised their cruelties in Cyprus particularly, a law was publicly enacted, by which it was made capital for any Jew to set foot on the island.

During these bloody transactions, Trajan was prosecuting his successes in the East. His first march was into Armenia, the king of which country had disclaimed all alliance with Rome, and received the ensigns of royalty and dominion from the monarch of Parthia. However, upon the news of Trajan's expedition, his fears were so great, that he abandoned his country to the invader; while the greatest part of his governors and nobility came submissively to the emperor, acknowledging themselves his subjects, and making

him the most costly presents. Having, in this manner, taken possession of the whole country, and gotten the king into his power, he marched into the dominions of the king of Parthia. There, entering the opulent kingdom of Mesopotamia, he reduced it into the form of a Roman province. From thence he went against the Parthians, marching on foot at the head of his army; in this manner crossing rivers, and conforming to all the severities of discipline which were imposed upon the meanest soldier. His successes against the Parthians were great and numerous. He conquered Syria and Chaldea; and took the famous city of Babylon. There, attempting to cross the Euphrates, he was opposed by the enemy, who were resolved to stop his passage; but he secretly caused boats to be made upon the adjoining mountains; and bringing them to the water side, passed his army with great expedition; not, however, without great slaughter on both sides. From thence he traversed large tracts of country, which had never before been invaded by a Roman army; and seemed to take a pleasure in pursuing the same march which Alexander the Great had marked out before him. Having passed the rapid stream of the Tigris, he advanced to the city Ctesiphon, which he took, and opened himself a passage into Persia; where he made many conquests that were rather splendid than serviceable. After subduing all the country bordering on the Tigris, he marched southward to the Persian gulph, where he subdued a mon-

arch who possessed a considerable island, made by the divided streams of that river. Here winter coming on, he was in danger of losing the greatest part of his army by the inclemency of the climate and the inundations of the river. He, therefore, with indefatigable pains, fitted out a fleet, and sailing down the Persian gulph, entered the Indian ocean, conquering even to the Indies, and subduing a part of them to the Roman empire. He was prevented from pursuing further conquests in this distant country, both by the revolt of many of the provinces he had already subdued, and by the scarcity of provisions, which seemed to contradict the reports of the fertility of the countries he was induced to invade. The inconveniences of increasing age, also contributed to damp the ardour of this enterprise, which at one time he intended to pursue to the confines of the earth. Returning, therefore, along the Persian gulph, and sending the senate a particular account of all the nations he had conquered, the names of which alone composed a long catalogue, he prepared to punish those countries which had revolted from him. He began by laying the famous city of Edessa, in Mesopotamia, in ashes; and, in a short space of time, not only retook all those places which had before acknowledged subjection, but conquered many other provinces, so as to make himself master of the most fertile kingdoms of all Asia. In this train of successes he scarce met with a repulse, except before the city Atra, in the deserts of Arabia. Wherefore,

judging that it was a proper time for bounding his conquests, he resolved to give a master to the countries he had subdued. With this resolution he repaired to the city Ctesiphon, in Persia; and there, with great ceremony, crowned Parthenaspates king of Parthia, to the great joy of all his subjects. He established another king also over the kingdom of Albania, near the Caspian sea. Then placing governors and lieutenants in other provinces, he resolved to return to his capital in a more magnificent manner than any of his predecessors had done before him. He accordingly left Adrian general of all his forces in the East, and continued his journey towards Rome, where the most magnificent preparations were made for his arrival. However, he had not got farther than the province of Cilicia, when he found himself too weak to proceed in his usual manner. He therefore ordered himself to be carried on ship-board, to the city of Seleucia, where he died of the apoplexy, having been attacked by that disorder once before. During the time of his indisposition, his wife Plotina constantly attended near him; and, knowing the emperor's dislike to Adrian, it is thought forged the will, by which he was adopted to succeed.

Trajan died in the sixty-third year of A. D.
his age, after a reign of nineteen years, six 117.
months, and fifteen days. How highly he was esteemed by his subjects appears from their manner of blessing his successors, always wishing them the fortune of Augustus, and the goodness

of Trajan. His military virtues, however, upon which he chiefly valued himself, produced no real advantage to his country; and all his conquests disappeared, when the power was withdrawn that enforced them.

But still it may be asserted that the Roman empire was never so large as when he left it, nor so formidable to the rest of the world. And yet its strength was much impaired; for being spread over so vast an extent of territory, as it wanted the invigorating principle of patriotism among its subjects to inspire them in its defence, its bulk seemed rather a symptom of its disease than its vigour.

CHAPTER XVI.

Adrian, the Fifteenth Emperor.

ADRIAN was by descent a Spaniard, and of the same city where Trajan was born. He was nephew to Trajan, and married to Sabina, his grand niece. When Trajan was adopted to the empire, Adrian was a tribune of the army in Mæsia, and sent by the troops to congratulate the emperor on his advancement. But his brother-in-law, who desired to have an opportunity of

congratulating Trajan himself, supplied Adrian with a carriage that broke down on the way. Adrian, however, was resolved to lose no time, and performed the rest of the journey on foot. This assiduity was very pleasing to the emperor; but he disliked Adrian from several more prevailing motives. He was expensive, and involved in debt. He was, besides, inconstant, capricious, and apt to envy another's reputation. These faults, in Trajan's opinion, could not be compensated either by Adrian's learning or his talents. His great skill in the Greek and Latin languages, his intimate acquaintance with the laws of his country and the philosophy of the times, were no inducements to Trajan, who, being bred himself a soldier, desired to have a military man to succeed him. For this reason it was that the dying emperor would by no means appoint a successor; fearful, perhaps, of injuring his great reputation, by adopting a person that was unworthy. His death, therefore, was concealed for some time by Plotina, his wife, till Adrian had sounded the inclinations of the army, and found them firm in his interests. They then produced a forged instrument, importing that Adrian was adopted to succeed in the empire. By this artifice he was elected by all orders of the state, though absent from Rome, being then at Antioch, as general of the forces in the East.

Upon Adrian's election, his first care was to write to the senate, excusing himself for assuming the empire without their previous approbation;

imputing it to the hasty zeal of the army, who rightly judged that the senate ought not long to remain without a head. He then began to pursue a course quite opposite to that of his predecessor, taking every method of declining war, and promoting the arts of peace. He was quite satisfied with preserving the ancient limits of the empire, and seemed no way ambitious of extensive conquest. For this reason he abandoned all the conquests which Trajan had made, judging them to be rather an inconvenience than an advantage to the empire. He made the river Euphrates the boundary of the empire, and placed the legions along its banks to prevent the incursions of the enemy.

Having thus settled the affairs of the East, and leaving Severus governor of Syria, he took his journey by land to Rome, sending the ashes of Trajan thither by sea. Upon his approach to the city, he was informed that a magnificent triumph was preparing for him, but this he modestly declined, desiring that these honours might be paid to Trajan's memory, which they had designed for him. In consequence of this command, a most superb triumph was decreed, in which Trajan's statue was carried as the principal figure in the procession, it being remarked that he was the only man that ever triumphed after he was dead. Not content with paying him these extraordinary honours, his ashes were placed in a golden urn, upon the top of a column a hundred and forty feet high. On this were engraven the

particulars of all his exploits in basso relievo, a work of great labour, and which is still remaining.

It was not an easy task to appear with any lustre, after an emperor so loved and admired as Trajan; and yet the merits of his successor seemed, in some measure, to console the people for their loss. Adrian was one of the most remarkable of the Roman emperors for the variety of his endowments. He was highly skilful in all the exercises both of body and mind. He composed with great beauty, both in prose and verse; he pleaded at the bar, and was one of the best orators of his time. He was deeply versed in the mathematics, and no less skilful in physic. In drawing and painting, he was equal to the greatest masters; an excellent musician, and sang to admiration. Besides these qualifications, he had an astonishing memory; he knew the names of all his soldiers, though never so long absent. He could dictate to one, confer with another, and write himself, all at the same time. He was remarkably expert in military discipline; he was strong and very skilful in arms, both on horseback and on foot, and frequently with his own hand killed wild boars, and even lions, in hunting.

His moral virtues were not less than his accomplishments. Upon his first exaltation, he forgave an infinite number of debts due to the exchequer, remitting the large arrears to which the provinces were liable, and burning the bonds and registers of them in the public Forum. He re-

fused to take the confiscated estates of condemned persons into his private coffers, but ordered them to be placed in the public treasury. His moderation and clemency appeared by pardoning the injuries which he had received when he was yet but a private man. One day meeting a person who had formerly been his most inveterate enemy, "My good friend," cried he, "you "have escaped, for I am made emperor." He had so great a veneration for the senate, and was so careful of not introducing unworthy persons into it, that he told the captain of his guard, when he made him senator, that he had no honours in his gift, equal to what he then bestowed. He was affable to his friends, and gentle to persons of meaner stations; he relieved their wants, and visited them in sickness; it being his constant maxim, that he was an emperor, not for his own good, but for the benefit of mankind.

These were his virtues, which were contrasted by a strange mixture of vices; or, to say the truth, he wanted strength of mind to preserve his general rectitude of character without deviation. Thus he is represented as proud and vain-glorious, envious and detractive, hasty and revengeful, inquisitive into other men's affairs, and often induced by sycophants and informers to acts of cruelty and injustice. He permitted the revival of the persecution against the Christians, and showed many instances of a bad disposition, which it was the whole study of his life to correct or to conceal.

But, however Adrian might have been, as to his private character, his conduct as an emperor appears most admirable, as all his public transactions seem dictated by the soundest policy and the most disinterested wisdom. He was scarce settled on the throne, when several of the northern barbarians, the Alani, the Sarmatians, and the Dacians, began to make devastations on the empire. These hardy nations, who now found the way to conquer, by issuing from their forests and then retiring upon the approach of a superior force opposing them, began to be truly formidable to Rome. Adrian had thoughts of contracting the limits of the empire, by giving up some of the most remote and the least defensible provinces; but in this he was over-ruled by his friends, who wrongly imagined, that an extensive frontier would intimidate an invading enemy. But though he complied with their remonstrances, he broke down the bridge over the Danube, which his predecessor had built, sensible that the same passage which was open to him, was equally convenient to the incursions of his barbarous neighbours.

While he was employed in compelling these nations to submission, a conspiracy was discovered, carried on among four persons of consular dignity at home. These had agreed to kill him, either while he was offering sacrifice, or while he was hunting. Their designs, however, were timely discovered, and the conspirators put to death, by order of the senate. Adrian took great

pains to clear himself from the imputation of having had any hand in their execution; he had sworn upon his advancement, to put no senator to death, and he now declared that the delinquents died without his permission. But in order entirely to suppress the murmurs of the people upon this head, he distributed large sums of money among them, and called off their attention from this act of severity to magnificent shows, and the various diversions of the amphitheatre.

Having staid a short time at Rome, so as to see that all things were regulated and established for the safety of the public, he prepared to visit and take a view of his whole empire. It was one of his maxims, that an emperor ought to imitate the sun, which diffuseth warmth and vigour over all parts of the earth. He therefore took with him a splendid court and a considerable force, and entered the province of Gaul, where he numbered all the inhabitants. From Gaul he went into Germany, from thence to Holland, and then passed over into Britain. There reforming many abuses, and reconciling the natives to the Romans, for the better security of the southern parts of the kingdom, he built a wall of wood and earth, extending from the river Eden in Cumberland, to the Tyne in Northumberland, to prevent the incursions of the Picts, and the other barbarous nations to the north. From Britain, returning through Gaul, he directed his journey to Spain, where he was received with great joy, as being a native of that country. There, wintering in the

city of Tarragona, he called a meeting of the deputies from all the provinces, and ordained many things for the benefit of the nation. Happening, while he was in Spain, to walk in his garden, one of the servants of the house ran furiously at him, with a drawn sword, to kill him; but the emperor warding off the blow, and closing with him, quickly disarmed him; then delivering him to his guards, he ordered that he might have a physician to bleed him; considering the poor creature (which in fact he was) as a madman. From Spain, returning to Rome, he continued there for some time, in order to prepare for his journey into the East, which was hastened by a new invasion of the Parthians. His approach compelling the enemy to peace, he pursued his travels without molestation. Arriving in Asia Minor, he turned out of his way to visit the famous city of Athens. There making a considerable stay, he was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, which were accounted the most sacred in the pagan mythology; and took upon him the office of archon, or chief magistrate of the place. In this place also he remitted the severity of the Christian persecution, at the representation of Granianus, the proconsul of Asia, who represented the people of that persuasion as no way culpable. He was even so far reconciled to them, as to think of receiving Christ among the number of the gods. After a winter's continuance at Athens, he went over into Sicily, and visited Ætna, and the other

curiosities of the place. Returning from thence once more to Rome, after a short stay he prepared ships, and crossed over into Africa. There he spent much time in regulating abuses, and reforming the government; in deciding controversies, and erecting magnificent buildings. Among the rest, he ordered Carthage to be rebuilt; calling it, after his own name, Adrianople. Again returning to Rome, where he staid but a very little time, he travelled a second time into Greece; passed over into Asia Minor; from thence went into Syria, gave laws and instructions to all the neighbouring kings, whom he invited to come and consult with him; he then entered Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt, where he caused Pompey's tomb, that had been long neglected and almost covered with sand, to be renewed and beautified. He also gave orders for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, which was performed with great expedition by the assistance of the Jews, who now began to conceive hopes of being restored to their long-lost kingdom. But these expectations only served to aggravate their calamities; for, being incensed at the privileges which were granted the pagan worshippers in their new city, they fell upon the Romans and Christians that were dispersed throughout Judea, and unmercifully put them all to the sword. In this cruel and desperate undertaking they were chiefly incited by one Barcocab, an impostor; who, willing to be thought the Messiah, or perhaps believing himself to be so, declared, that he himself was the star foretold by

Balaam; and that he was come down as a light from heaven to rescue them from bondage. Adrian was at Athens when this dangerous insurrection began; wherefore sending a powerful body of men, under the command of Julius Severus, against them, this general obtained many signal, though bloody victories over the insurgents. The war was concluded in two years, by the demolition of above a thousand of their best towns, and the destruction of near six hundred thousand men in battle.

He then banished all those who remained, out of Judea; and, by a public decree, forbade any to come within view of their native soil. This insurrection was soon after followed by a dangerous irruption of the barbarous nations to the northward of the empire; who entering Media with great fury, and passing through Armenia, carried their devastations as far as Cappadocia. Adrian preferring peace, upon any terms, to an unprofitable war, bought them off by large sums of money; so that they returned peaceably into their native wilds, to enjoy their plunder, and meditate fresh invasions.

Adrian having now spent thirteen years in travelling through his dominions, and reforming the abuses of the empire, resolved at length to return and end all his fatigues at Rome. Nothing could be more grateful to the people than his present resolution of coming to reside, for the rest of his days, among them: they received him with the loudest demonstrations of joy; and

though he now began to grow old and unwieldy, he remitted not the least of his former assiduity and application to the public welfare. His chief amusement was in conversing with the most celebrated men in every art and science, frequently boasting, that he thought no kind of knowledge inconsiderable or to be neglected, either in his private or public capacity. This desire of knowing was laudable, if kept within bounds: but he seemed to affect universal excellence; and even envied all, who aspired at an equal reputation in any of the arts with himself. It is said, that he ordered Apollodorus, the architect, to be put to death, only for too freely remarking upon the errors of some structure erected from the emperor's designs. But be this as it may, he took great delight in disputing among the learned men and the philosophers who attended him; nor were they less careful in granting him that superiority he seemed so eagerly to affect. Favorinus, a man of great reputation at court for philosophy, happening one day to dispute with him upon some philosophical subject, acknowledged himself to be overcome. His friends blamed him for thus giving up the argument, when he might easily have pursued it with success. "How," replied Favorinus, who was probably a better courtier than philosopher, "would "you have me contend with a man who is ma-"ster of thirty legions?" Adrian was so fond of literary fame, that we are told, he wrote his own life, and afterwards gave it to his servants to

publish under their names. But whatever might have been his weakness in aiming at universal reputation, he was in no part of his reign remiss in attending the duties of his exalted station. He ordered the knights and senators never to appear in public, but in the proper habits of their orders. He forbade masters to kill their slaves, as had been before allowed; but ordained that they should be tried by the laws enacted against capital offences. A law so just, had he done nothing more, deserved to have ensured his reputation with posterity, and to have made him dear to mankind. He still further extended the lenity of the laws to those unhappy men, who had been long thought too mean for justice. If a master was found killed in his house, he would not allow all his slaves to be put to the torture, as formerly, but only such as might have perceived or prevented the murder.

In such cares he consumed the greatest part of his time; but, at last, finding the duties of his station daily increasing, and his own strength proportionally upon the decline, he resolved upon adopting a successor, whose merits might deserve, and whose courage secure, his exaltation. After many deliberations, he made choice of Lucius Commodus, whose bodily infirmities rendered him unfit for a trust of such importance. Of this, after some time, Adrian seemed sensible, declaring, that he repented of having chosen so feeble a successor, and saying, That he had leaned against a mouldering wall. However, Com-

modus soon after dying, the emperor immediately adopted Marcus Antoninus, afterwards surnamed the Pious; but previously obliged him to adopt two others, namely, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus, all of whom afterwards succeeded in the empire.

While he was thus careful in appointing a successor, his bodily infirmities daily increased; and, at length, his pains becoming insupportable, he vehemently desired that some of his attendants would dispatch him. Antoninus, however, would by no means permit any of his domestics to be guilty of so great an impiety, but used all the arts in his power to reconcile the emperor to sustain life. At one time he produced a woman, who pretended that she was warned in a dream, that he should recover his health; at another, a man was brought from Pannonia, who gave him the same assurances. Nevertheless, Adrian's pains increased every day. He frequently cried out, "How miserable a thing it is to seek death, "and not to find it!" He engaged one Mastor, partly by threats and partly by entreaties, to promise to dispatch him; but Mastor, instead of obeying, consulted his own safety by flight; so that he who was master of the lives of millions, was not able to dispose of his own. In this deplorable exigence, he resolved on going to Baiæ, where the tortures of his diseases increasing, they affected his understanding, so that he gave orders that several persons should be put to death; which Antoninus, according to his usual wisdom,

never meant to obey. Continuing, for some time, in these excruciating circumstances, the emperor was at last resolved to observe no regimen, often saying, that kings died merely by the multitude of their physicians. This conduct served to hasten that death he seemed so ardently to desire, and it was probably joy upon its approach which dictated the celebrated stanzas which are so well known, in repeating which he expired*.

In this manner died Adrian, in the sixty-second year of his age, after a prosperous reign of twenty-one years and eleven months. His private character seems to be a mixture of virtues and vices; but as a prince, perhaps, none of his predecessors showed more wisdom, or such laudable assiduity. He was the first emperor

* Animula vagula blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis;
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula rigida nudula,
Nec ut soles dabis jocos?

Thus translated by Mr. Pope:

Oh fleeting spirit, wandering fire,
That long hast warm'd my tender breast;
Wilt thou no more my frame inspire;
No more a pleasing cheerful guest?
Whither, ah! whither art thou flying?
To what dark, undiscover'd shore?
Thou seem'st all trembling, shivering, dying,
And wit and humour are no more.

who reduced the laws of the empire into one standing code. Government received the greatest stability from his councils, and a tranquillity more lasting than could be expected from such fierce neighbours abroad, and such a degenerate race of citizens at home.

CHAPTER XVII.

Antoninus Pius, the Sixteenth Emperor.

U. C. 891. A. D. 138. Titus Antoninus, whom Adrian had appointed as his successor, was born in the city of Nismes, in Gaul. His father was a nobleman of an ancient family, that had enjoyed the highest honours of the state. At the time of his succeeding to the throne, he was above fifty years old, and had passed through many of the most important offices of the state with great integrity and application. His virtues in private life were no way impaired by exaltation, as he showed himself one of the most excellent princes for justice, clemency, and moderation. His morals were so pure, that he was usually compared to Numa, and was surnamed the Pious, both for his tenderness to his predecessor Adrian when dying, and his particular attachment to the religion of his country.

In the beginning of his reign, he made it his particular study to promote only the most de-

serving to employments; he moderated many imposts and tributes, and commanded that all should be levied without partiality or oppression. His liberality was such, that he even parted with all his own private fortune, in relieving the distresses of the necessitous. Against which, when Faustina, the empress, seemed to remonstrate, he reprehended her folly, alleging, that as soon as he was possessed of the empire, he quitted all private interests; and having nothing of his own, all properly belonged to the public. He acted differently from his predecessors with regard to travelling, and seldom left Rome, saying, that he was unwilling to burden his subjects with ostentatious and unnecessary expences. By this frugal conduct, he was the better enabled to suppress all the insurrections that happened during his reign, either in Britain, in Dacia, or in Germany. Thus he was at once reverenced and loved by mankind, being accounted rather a patron and a father to his subjects, than a master and commander. Ambassadors were sent to him from the remotest parts of Hyrcania, Bactria, and India, all offering him their alliance and friendship; some desiring him to appoint them a king, whom they seemed proud to obey. He showed not less paternal care towards the oppressed Christians; in whose favour he declared, that if any should proceed to disturb them, merely upon the account of their religion, that such should undergo the same punishment, which was intended against the accused.

This clemency was attended with no less affability than freedom; but at the same time, he was upon his guard, that his indulgence to his friends should not tempt them into insolence or oppression. He therefore took care that his courtiers should not sell their favours, nor take any gratuity from their suitors. In the time of a great famine in Rome, he provided for the wants of the people, and maintained vast numbers with bread and wine all the time of its continuance. When any of his subjects attempted to inflame him with a passion for military glory, he would answer, that he more desired the preservation of one subject, than the destruction of a thousand enemies.

He was an eminent rewarder of learned men, to whom he gave large pensions and great honours, drawing them from all parts of the world. Among the rest he sent for Apollonius, the famous Stoic philosopher, to instruct his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius, whom he had previously married to his daughter. Apollonius being arrived at Rome, the emperor desired his attendance; but the other arrogantly answered, that it was the scholar's duty to wait upon the master, and not the master's upon the scholar. To this reply, Antoninus only returned with a smile, "That it was surprising how Apollonius, who "made no difficulty of coming from Greece to "Rome, should think it so hard to walk from "one part of Rome to another;" and immediately sent Marcus Aurelius to him. While the

good emperor was thus employed in making mankind happy, in directing their conduct by his own example, or reproving their follies with the keenness of rebuke, he was seized with a violent fever at Lorium, a pleasure-house at some distance from Rome; where, finding himself sensibly decaying, he ordered his friends and principal officers to attend him. In their presence, he confirmed the adoption of Marcus Aurelius, without once naming Lucius Verus, who had been joined by Adrian with him in the succession; then commanding the golden statue of Fortune, which was always in the chamber of the emperors, to be removed to that of his successor, he expired, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, after a prosperous reign of twenty-two years and almost eight months.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Marcus Aurelius, otherwise called Antoninus the Philosopher, the Seventeenth Emperor.

THE death of Antoninus was universally lamented throughout the empire, and his funeral oration pronounced, as usual, by his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius; who,

U. C. 914. A. D. 161.

though left sole successor to the throne, took Lucius Verus as his associate and equal, in governing the state. Thus Rome, for the first time, saw itself governed by two sovereigns of equal power, but of very different merit and pretensions. Aurelius was the son of Annius Verus, of an ancient and illustrious family, which claimed its original from Numa. Lucius Verus was the son of Commodus, who had been adopted by Adrian, but died before he succeeded to the throne. Aurelius was as remarkable for his virtues and accomplishments, as his partner in the empire was for his ungovernable passions and debauched morals. The one was an example of the greatest goodness and wisdom; the other, of ignorance, sloth, and extravagance.

The two emperors had been scarce settled on the throne, when the empire seemed attacked on every side, from the barbarous nations by which it was surrounded. The Catti invaded Germany and Rhætia, ravaging all with fire and sword; but were, after some time, repelled by Victorinus. The Britons likewise revolted, but were repressed by Califurnius. But the Parthians, under their king Vologesus, made an irruption still more dreadful than either of the former; destroying the Roman legions in Armenia; then entering Syria, and driving out the Roman governor, and filling the whole country with terror and confusion. In order to stop the progress of this barbarous irruption, Verus himself went in person, being accompanied by Aurelius part of the

way, who did all in his power, both by giving him advice and proper attendants, to correct or restrain his vices.

However, these precautions were fruitless; Verus soon grew weary of all restraint: he neglected every admonition; and, thoughtless of the urgency of his expedition, plunged himself into every kind of debauchery. These excesses brought on a violent fever on his journey, which his constitution was sufficiently strong to get over; but nothing could correct his vicious inclinations. Upon his entering Antioch, he resolved to give an indulgence to every appetite, without attending to the fatigues of war. There, in one of its suburbs, which was called Daphne; which, from the sweetness of the air, the beauty of its groves, the richness of its gardens, and the freshness of its fountains, seemed formed for pleasure, he rioted in excesses unknown even to the voluptuous Greeks; leaving all the glory of the field to his lieutenants, who were sent to repress the enemy. These, however fought with great success; Statius Priscus took Artazata; Martius put Vologesus to flight, took Seleucia, plundered and burnt Babylon and Ctesiphon, and demolished the magnificent palace of the kings of Parthia. In a course of four years, during which the war continued, the Romans entered far into the Parthian country, and entirely subdued it; but upon their return, their army was wasted to less than half its former number by pestilence and famine. However, this was no impediment to

the vanity of Verus, who resolved to enjoy the honours of a triumph, so hardly earned by others. Wherefore, having appointed a king over the Armenians, and finding the Parthians entirely subdued, he assumed the titles of Armenicus and Parthicus; and then returned to Rome, to partake of a triumph with Aurelius, which was accordingly solemnized with great pomp and splendour.

During the course of this expedition, which continued for some years, Aurelius was sedulously intent upon distributing justice and happiness to his subjects at home. He first applied himself to the regulation of public affairs, and to the correcting such faults as he found in the laws and policy of the state. In this endeavour, he showed a singular respect for the senate, often permitting them to determine without appeal, so that the commonwealth seemed in a manner once more revived under his equitable administration. Besides, such was his application to business, that he often employed ten days together upon the same subject, maturely considering it on all sides, and seldom departing from the senate-house, till, night coming on, the assembly was dismissed by the consul. But while thus gloriously occupied, he was daily mortified with accounts of the enormities of his colleague; being repeatedly assured of his vanity, lewdness, and extravagance. However, feigning himself ignorant of these excesses, he judged marriage to be the best method of reclaiming him; and

therefore sent him his daughter Lucilla, a woman of great beauty, whom Verus married at Antioch. But even this was found ineffectual: Lucilla proved of a disposition very unlike her father; and, instead of correcting her husband's extravagances, only contributed to inflame them. Yet Aurelius still hoped, that, upon the return of Verus to Rome, his presence would keep him in awe, and that happiness would at length be restored to the state. But in this also he was disappointed. His return only seemed fatal to the empire; for his army carried back the plague from Parthia, and disseminated the infection into all the provinces through which it passed.

Nothing could exceed the miserable state of the empire shortly after the return of Verus. In this horrid picture was represented an emperor, unawed by example, or the calamities surrounding him, giving way to unheard-of debaucheries; a raging pestilence spreading terror and desolation through all the parts of the western world; earthquakes, famines, and inundations, such as had never before happened; the products of the earth, throughout all Italy, devoured by locusts; all the barbarous nations surrounding the empire, the Germans, the Sarmatians, the Quadi, and Marcomanni, taking advantage of its various calamities, and making their irruptions even into Italy itself; the priests doing all they could to put a stop to the miseries of the state, by attempting to appease the gods, vowing and offering numberless sacrifices; celebrating all the

sacred rites that had ever been known in Rome, and exhibiting the solemnity called Lectisternia seven days together: to crown the whole, these enthusiasts, not satisfied with the impending calamities, making new, by ascribing the distresses of the state to the impieties of the Christians alone; so that a violent persecution was seen reigning in all parts of the empire; in which Justin Martyr, St. Polycarp bishop of Smyrna, and an infinite number of others, suffered martyrdom.

In this scene of universal tumult, desolation, and distress, there was nothing left but the virtues and the wisdom of one man alone to restore tranquillity, and bring back happiness to the empire. Aurelius began his endeavours by marching against the Marcomanni and Quadi, taking Verus with him, who reluctantly left the sensual delights of Rome for the fatigues of a camp. They came up with the Marcomanni near the city of Aquileia, and, after a furious engagement, routed their whole army: then pursuing them across the Alps, overcame them in several contests, and, at last, entirely defeating them, returned into Italy without any consider-
U. C. able loss. As the winter was far advanced,
922. Verus was determined upon going from
A. D. Aquileia to Rome, in which journey he
169. was seized with an apoplexy which put an
end to his life, being thirty-nine years old, having reigned in conjunction with Aurelius nine. Suspicion, which ever attends the fate of princes,

did not fail to ascribe his death to different causes. Some say that he was poisoned by the empress Faustina, some by his own wife Lucilla, who was jealous of him for the passion he bore his sister Fabia; and others still were found to say that Aurelius had a hand in it: but the number of these reports ought to destroy the credibility of any.

Aurelius, who had hitherto felt the fatigues of governing not only an empire, but an emperor, being now left to himself, began to act with greater diligence and more vigour than ever. His first care was to marry his daughter Lucilla once more to Claudius Pompeianus, a man of moderate fortune and humble station, but eminent for his honesty, courage, and wisdom. He then left Rome to finish the war against the Marcomanni, who, joining with the Quadi, the Sarmatians, the Vandals, and other barbarous nations, renewed hostilities, with unusual rage and devastation. They had some time before attacked Vindex, præfect of the prætorian bands, and in a general battle near the Danube destroyed no less than twenty thousand of his men. They even pursued the Romans as far as Aquileia, and would have taken the city, had not the emperor led his troops in person to oppose them. Aurelius having repulsed the enemy, continued his endeavours to repress them from future inroads. He spent in this laborious undertaking no less than five years, harassing these barbarous nations, supporting the most dreadful fatigues, and

supplying, by the excess of his courage, the defects of a delicate constitution. The stoic philosophy, in which he was bred, had taught him simplicity of living, which served as an example to the whole army. The common soldier could not murmur at any hardships he was put upon, when he saw the emperor himself every hour undergoing greater austerities with cheerful resignation. By this conduct, Aurelius so wearied out the enemy with repeated attacks, that he at last constrained them to accept of such terms of peace as he thought fit to impose, and thus returned in triumph to Rome.

Upon the emperor's return to Rome, he began his usual endeavours to benefit mankind by a farther reformation of the internal policy of the state. He ordered that no inquiry should be made after the fortune of deceased persons who had been dead five years. He moderated the public expences, and lessened the number of shows and sports which were exhibited in the amphitheatre. He particularly took the poor under his protection: he found such pleasure in relieving their wants, that he considered his ability to supply the dictates of his compassion, as one of the greatest happinesses of his life. He laboured incessantly to restrain the luxuries of the great, he prohibited the use of chariots and litters to persons of inferior station, and endeavoured by all means to correct the lewdness and disorders of women.

But his good endeavours were soon interrupted by a renewal of the former wars. The barbarians no sooner perceived his army withdrawn, than they took up arms once more, and renewed their ravages with greater fury than before. They had now drawn over to their side all the nations from Illyricum to the furthest parts of Gaul. Aurelius, therefore, again saw himself surrounded with difficulties; his army had before been wasted by the plague and frequent engagements, and his treasures entirely exhausted. In order to remedy these inconveniences, he increased his forces, by enlisting slaves, gladiators, and the banditti of Dalmatia.

To raise money, he sold all the moveables belonging to the empire, and all the rich furniture which had been deposited in the cabinets of Adrian. This sale, which continued for two months, produced so considerable a sum, as to defray all the expences of the war. His next effort was to march forward, and cross the Danube by a bridge of boats. He then attacked the enemy, gained several advantages, burnt their houses and magazines of corn, and received the submissions of such as had inconsiderately joined in the invasion. The detail of his campaigns is but confusedly related by historians; one battle in particular is mentioned, which might have proved fatal, had not some most surprising incidents interposed. This engagement was begun by the enemy's slingers across a river, which induced the Romans to cross it, and make a great slaughter

of those who attempted to defend its banks on the opposite side. The enemy judging they should be pursued, retired, having previously left some bodies of archers, covered by a squadron of horse, to skirmish with the Romans, as if they designed to stop their progress. The Romans, with inconsiderate valour, attacking this forlorn hope, pursued them among a chain of barren mountains, where they found themselves unexpectedly blocked up on every side. However they continued fighting notwithstanding the disadvantage of the place; but the enemy prudently declined engaging, not willing to leave that victory to chance, which they expected from delay. At length, the excessive heat of the enclosed situation, the fatigues of long employment, together with a violent thirst, totally disheartened the Roman legions. They now found that they could neither fight nor retreat; and that they must run upon certain danger, or become a prey to their barbarous enemies. In this deplorable exigence, while sorrow and despair were their only companions, Aurelius ran through their ranks, and in vain endeavoured to re-kindle their hopes and their courage. Nothing was heard but groans and lamentations; nothing seen but marks of terror and desolation. At this dreadful juncture, and just as the barbarians were ready to fall upon them, we are assured, by some writers, that the solemn prayers of a Christian legion which was among them produced such a fall of rain, as instantly refresh-

ed the fainting army. The soldiers were seen holding their mouths and their helmets up to heaven, and receiving the showers which came so wonderfully to their relief. The same clouds also which served for their rescue, at the same time discharged such a terrible storm of hail, accompanied with thunder, against the enemy, as astonished and confounded them. By this unlooked-for aid, the Romans recovering strength and courage, once more turned upon their pursuers, and cut them in pieces.

Such are the circumstances of an engagement, acknowledged by pagan as well as Christian writers, only with this difference, that the latter ascribe the victory to their own, the former to the prayers of their emperor. However this be, Aurelius seemed so sensible of miraculous assistance, that he immediately relaxed the persecution against the Christians, and wrote to the senate in favour of their religion. Notwithstanding this victory, the war continued for some months longer; but, after many violent conflicts, the barbarians sent to sue for peace. The emperor imposed conditions upon them, more or less severe, as he found them more or less disposed to revolt; being actually resolved to divide their territories into provinces, and subject them to the Roman empire. However, a fresh rebellion called him to the defence of his dominions at home.

Avidius Cassius was one of the emperor's most favourite generals, and had been chiefly instru-

mental in obtaining the Roman successes in Parthia. His principal merit seemed to consist in his restoring the old discipline, and in pretending a violent regard for the commonwealth in its ancient form. But, in fact, all his seeming regard for freedom, was only to seize upon the liberties of his country for his own aggrandizement. Wherefore, finding his soldiers (for he was left with an army in the East) willing to support his pretensions, he proclaimed himself emperor in Syria. One of his chief artifices to procure popularity was, his giving out that he was descended from the famous Cassius, who had conspired against Cæsar; and, like him, he pretended, that his aims were for the re-establishment of the commonwealth of Rome. He also caused it to be rumoured, that Aurelius was dead, and he affected to show the greatest respect for his memory. By these pretences, he united a large body of men under his command, and, in a short time, brought all the countries from Syria to mount Taurus, under his subjection. These prosperous beginnings served to increase the emperor's activity, but not his apprehensions. He prepared to oppose him without any marks of uneasiness for the event; telling his soldiers, That he could freely yield up his empire to Avidius, if it should be judged conducive to the public good; for, as to his own part, the only fruits he had from exaltation, were incessant labour and fatigue. "I am ready," cried he, "to meet Avidius before "the senate, and before you; and to yield him up

" the empire, without the effusion of blood, or " striking a blow, if it shall be thought good for " the people. But Avidius will never submit to " such a tribunal; he who has been faithless to his " benefactor can never rely upon any man's pro- " fessions. He will not even, in case of being " worsted, rely upon me. And yet, my fellow- " soldiers, my only fear is, and I speak it with " the greatest sincerity, lest he should put an end " to his own life; or lest some, thinking to do me " a service, should hasten his death. The greatest " hope that I have, is to prove, that I can pardon " the most outrageous offences; to make him my " friend, even in spite of his reluctance; and to " show the world, that civil wars themselves can " come to a happy issue." In the mean time, Avidius, who well knew that desperate undertakings must have a speedy execution, endeavoured to draw over Greece to his assistance; but the love which all mankind bore the good emperor frustrated his expectations; he was unable to bring over a single city to espouse his interests. This repulse seemed to turn the scale of his former fortunes. His officers and soldiers began now to regard him with contempt; so that they at last slew him, in less than four months after their first revolt. His head was brought to the emperor, who received it with regret, and ordered it an honourable interment. The rest of the conspirators were treated with great lenity; some few of them were banished, but recalled soon after. This clemency was admired by some, and con-

demned by others; but the emperor little regarded the murmurs or the applause of the multitude: guided only by the goodness of his own disposition, he did what, to him, seemed right; content and happy in self-approbation. When some took the liberty of blaming his conduct, telling him, That Avidius would not have been so generous had he been conqueror; the emperor replied in this sublime manner; "I never served "the gods so ill, or reigned so irregularly, as to "fear Avidius could ever be conqueror."

Though Avidius was no more, yet Aurelius was sensible that he had still some friends remaining, whom he was willing to win over. He therefore took a journey into the East, where, in all places, he at once charmed them with his affability, raised their admiration by his clemency, instructed them by precept, and improved them by his example. The better to prevent such revolts for the future, he ordained, That as Avidius was a native of the country in which he rebelled, no person, for the time to come, should command in the place where he was born. In this journey, the empress Faustina was unexpectedly seized with a violent distemper, and died. She was a woman whose wanton life gave great scandal to the dignity of her station; however, her passive husband, either could not, or at least affected not, to see her enormities, but willingly admitted the ill-deserved honours which the senate importunately decreed to her memory.

In his way to Rome, he visited Athens, where he conferred many honours on the inhabitants, and established professors in all the sciences, with munificent salaries for their ease. Upon landing in Italy, he quitted his soldier's habit, as also did all his army; and made his entry into Rome in the gown which was worn in peace. As he had been absent almost eight years, he distributed to each citizen eight pieces of gold, and remitted all the debts due to the treasury for sixty years past. At the same time he nominated his son Commodus to succeed him in the empire, and made him a partner in his triumphal entry. He then retired for some time to a country-seat into the arms of philosophy, which delighted his mind, and guided his conduct: he usually called it his mother, in opposition to the court, which he considered as his step-mother. He also was frequently heard to say, "That the people were "happy whose philosophers were kings, or whose "kings were philosophers." He, in fact, was one of the most considerable men then in being; and though he had been born in the meanest station, his merits, as a writer, would have ensured him immortality. But it was not with him mere speculation, his practice was entirely guided by the principles of stoicism; so that his tranquillity was such, that he was never observed to feel any emotion, or to change countenance, either in joy or in sorrow. His chief masters were, Apollonius of Chalcis, and Sextus Cheronensis, grandson to the famous Plutarch; these shared his

bounty, as likewise did all the learned men of his time. He had learned the art of so blending liberality with the most frugal economy, that he seemed rather the equitable guardian of another's wealth, than the possessor of his own. He was so sensible that few understood the art of giving, that he built a temple to the goddess who presided over benefits.

In this manner, having restored prosperity to his subjects and peace to mankind, he expected, in the decline of life, to rest from future toil. But it was his fortune to be ever employed. News was brought him that the Scythians and barbarous nations of the north were again up in arms, and invading the empire with furious impetuosity. He now, therefore, once more resolved to expose his aged person in the defence of his country, and made speedy preparations to oppose them. He went to the senate, for the first time, and desired to have money out of the public treasury. Though it was in his power to take what sums he thought proper without their consent, yet he openly declared, that emperors had no private property, not so much as the palace in which they dwelt. The people, whose love to the emperor daily increased, finding him making preparations to leave them, and resolving to expose himself in a dangerous war, assembled themselves before his palace, beseeching him not to depart till he had given them instructions for their future conduct; so that if the gods should take him to themselves, they might, by his assist-

ance, continue in the same paths of virtue, into which he had led them by his example. This was a request which the great emperor was highly pleased in obeying; he spent three whole days in giving them short maxims, by which they might regulate their lives; and having finished his lectures, departed upon his expedition, amidst the prayers and lamentations of all his subjects. The particulars of these campaigns are not related by historians; we can only say, that he fought several bloody battles, where the victory was always owing to his prudence, courage, and example. He was constantly at the head of his men, and always in places the most exposed to danger. He built several forts, and so disposed his garrisons, as to keep all his barbarous neighbours in awe. It was upon going to open his third campaign, that he was seized with the plague at Vienna, which stopped the progress of his success. Nothing, however, could abate his desire of being beneficial to mankind; for, though his submission to the will of Providence made him meet the approaches of death with tranquillity, his fears for the youth and unpromising disposition of Commodus, his son and successor, seemed to give him great uneasiness, and aggravated the pains of nature. Struggling with this apprehension, and fluctuating between hope and fear, he addressed his friends and the principal officers that were gathered round his bed; telling them, that as his son was now going to lose a father, he hoped he should find many fathers in them; that

they would direct his youth, and give him such instructions as would be to the public benefit as well as his own. " Make him more particularly " sensible," continued the dying emperor, " that " not all the riches and honours of this world are " sufficient to satisfy the luxury and ambition of a " tyrant; nor are the strongest guards and armies " able to defend him from the just reward of his " crimes. Assure him, that cruel princes never " enjoy a long and peaceful reign; and that all " the real delights of power, are reserved only for " those, whose clemency and mildness have gain- " ed the hearts of their people. It must be yours " to inform him, that obedience by constraint is " never sincere; and that he who would expect " fidelity among mankind, must gain it from their " affections, not their fears. Lay before him " the difficulty, and yet the necessity, of setting " bounds to his passions, as there are none set to " his power. These are the truths to which he " ought ever to attend; by steadily inculcating " these, you will have the satisfaction of forming " a good prince, and the pleasure of paying my " memory the noblest of all services, since you " will thus render it immortal." As he was speaking these last words, he was seized with a weakness which stopped his utterance, and which brought him to his end the day following. He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having reigned nineteen years and some days.

It seemed as if the whole glory and prosperity of the Roman empire died with Aurelius. From

thence forward we are to behold a train of emperors either vicious or impotent, either wilfully guilty, or unable to assert the dignity of their station. We are to behold an empire, grown too great, sinking by its own weight, surrounded by barbarous and successful enemies without, and torn by ambitious and cruel factions within; the principles of the times wholly corrupted; philosophy attempting to regulate the minds of men without the aid of religion; and the warmth of patriotism entirely evaporated, by being diffused in too wide a circle. We shall still farther find the people becoming dull, as they grow impotent; their historians cool and spiritless in the most interesting narrations, and the convulsions of the greatest empire upon earth, described in childish points, or languid prolixity.

CHAPTER XIX.

Commodus, the Eighteenth Emperor.

The merits of Aurelius procured Commodus an easy accession to the throne. He was acknowledged emperor, first by the army, then by the senate and people, and shortly after by all the provinces. But

U. C. 933.
A. D. 180.

though he owed the empire to the adoption of his supposed father, many were of opinion, that he was the spurious issue of a gladiator; his own conduct afterward, and the wanton character of his mother Faustina, having, perhaps given rise to the report. He was about nineteen years of age when he entered upon the empire: his person was comely and robust; no man was more expert in all bodily exercises; he frequently fought with gladiators, and always came off victorious; he threw the javelin, and shot from the bow, with such wonderful address, as almost exceeds credibility. He never missed hitting and killing the fleetest animals, though upon full speed, and this in any part of their bodies he thought fit. He killed, upon a certain occasion, a hundred lions let loose all at once upon the amphitheatre. He shot birds, flying in the air, with unerring aim; and cut off the heads of a hundred ostriches, in their most rapid motion, with his arrows headed in the shape of a half moon.

But it had been happy for himself and mankind, if he had cultivated the mental exercises with as much attention as those of the body. His whole reign is but a tissue of wantonness and folly, cruelty and injustice, rapacity and corruption. There is so strong a similitude between his conduct and that of Domitian, that a reader might be apt to imagine he was going over the same reign.

He was received, upon his entrance into Rome, with a transport of applause from the people,

and, for some time, he showed himself worthy of their affection. But soon the levity of his temper, and the corrupt example of his favourite companions, turned him to the basest, meanest pursuits. He went with his associates to taverns and brothels; spent the day in feasting, and the night in the most abominable luxuries, having no less than three hundred females, and as many males, for detestable purposes. He committed incest, as Caligula did, with all his sisters. He sometimes went about the markets in a frolic, with small wares, as a petty chapman; sometimes he imitated a horse-courser; and, at other times, drove his own chariot in a slave's habit.

Those he chiefly promoted resembled himself, being the companions of his pleasures, or the ministers of his cruelty. He took little care of the government, committing all the conduct of it to one Perennius, a person chiefly remarkable for his avarice and cruelty. In consequence of the enormities of this minister, a conspiracy was formed against Commodus in the beginning of his reign, in which his sister Lucilla, with her husband Pompeianus, were principally concerned. The person employed to kill the emperor was one Quintianus, who coming up to him in a dauntless manner, and holding up his dagger, cried out, "The senate sends thee this." But this unguarded manner of proceeding frustrated his aim: for one of the guards just then seizing his arm, prevented the fatal blow, and he soon after made a discovery of all his accomplices.

Lucilla, Pompeianus, and Quintianus, were executed; many other persons, wholly innocent, shared the same fate. In this manner Perennius proceeded, sacrificing numbers of the senate, as pretended accomplices, but in reality with a view of seizing upon their estates and fortunes; so that being thus grown extremely rich, he began to think of gaining the empire for himself, and made some progress in the attempt; but his design becoming apparent, Commodus seemed to rouse from his lethargy, and ordered both him and his sons, who had been seen to draw the legions to revolt, to immediate execution.

Two conspiracies thus discovered and punished, only served to render the emperor still more cruel and suspicious, and these cruelties begot new revolts. One Maturnus, at the head of a numerous banditti, wasted Spain and Gaul, and resolved to attempt the empire itself. In order to effect this, upon a certain festival, he ordered some of his soldiers to mix with the emperor's guards, and then assassinate him. But his own party, in hopes of advantage, betrayed their employer, and he was executed with many others soon after. It was about this time also that Cleander, the emperor's chief favourite, fell a sacrifice to the indignation of the populace, for his haughty carriage towards them. Another favourite, whose name was Julian, was put to death by the emperor's command; and shortly after a third (for this vicious prince could not reign without a favourite), who was called Regil-

lius, was executed in the same manner. To these succeeded the murder of his wife Crispina, and his father's cousin-german, Faustina, and numberless others, whose virtues, or fortunes, rendered them obnoxious to his capricious cruelty. If any person desired to be revenged on an enemy, by bargaining with Commodus for a sum of money, he was permitted to destroy him in such manner as he thought proper. He commanded a person to be cast to the wild beasts, for reading the life of Caligula in Suetonius, He ordered another to be thrown in a burning furnace, for accidentally overheating his bath. He would sometimes, when he was in a good humour, cut off men's noses, under a pretence of shaving their beards; yet he was himself so jealous of all mankind, that he was obliged to be his own barber.

In the midst of these cruelties, his vanity never forsook him. Instead of being content with numberless titles, which his flattering senate were daily offering, he was rather willing to assume such as were most agreeable to himself. He, at one time, commanded himself to be styled Hercules, the son of Jupiter; and the better to imitate that hero, he carried a club, and dressed himself in a lion's skin. But to drive the imagination as far as possible, and that he might appear to destroy giants and monsters, as the former had done, he dressed up several poor men and cripples, which were found begging in the streets, like monsters, giving them sponges to throw at him instead of stones, till falling fu-

riously among them with his club, he destroyed them all. When tired of the Herculean habit, he assumed that of an Amazon. He, at last, became so abandoned as to forsake his palace, and live in a fencing-school; and satiated with all his former titles, he assumed the name of a famous gladiator.

During these deplorable irregularities, the barbarians on the frontiers of the empire were daily gaining ground; and though his lieutenants were successful against the Britons, the Moors, the Dacians, the Germans, and Pannonians, yet the empire was daily declining, since their numbers seemed to increase by defeat, so that neither treaties could bind, nor victories repel them. In the mean time, the emperor's actions were become so odious to all mankind, and so contemptible to the citizens of Rome, that his death was ardently desired by all. At length, upon the feast of Janus, resolving to fence naked before the people, as a common gladiator, three of his friends remonstrated to him upon the indecency of such a behaviour. These were Lætus, his general, Electus, his chamberlain, and Marcia, a concubine, of whom he always appeared excessively fond. Their advice was attended with no other effect, than that of incensing him against them, and inciting him to resolve upon their destruction. It was his method, like that of Domitian, to set down the names of all such as he intended to put to death, in a roll which he carefully kept by him. However, at this time,

happening to lay the roll on his bed, while he was bathing in another room, it was taken up by a little boy, whom he passionately loved. The child, after playing with it for some time, brought it to Marcia, who was instantly alarmed at the contents. She immediately discovered her terrors to Lætus and Electus, who perceiving their dangerous situation, instantly resolved the tyrant's death. After some deliberation, it was agreed upon to dispatch him by poison. In consequence of this, a draught, probably opium, was administered to him by the hands of Marcia, which beginning to operate, cast him into a heavy slumber. In order to conceal the fact, she immediately caused the company to retire, under a pretence of allowing him rest; but finding him awake soon after, and taken with a violent vomiting, she was greatly alarmed with fears of his recovery. In this exigence, consulting with the rest of the conspirators, she hastily introduced a young man, called Narcissus, and showing him his own name, among the number of those whom Commodus had destined to destruction, she prevailed upon him to assist in dispatching the tyrant. He boldly undertook the dangerous task, so that the emperor was soon strangled by their united efforts. In this manner died Commodus, in the thirty-first year of his age, after an impious reign of twelve years and nine months; and, as if he gave the example, very few of his successors escaped a violent death.

CHAPTER XX.

Pertinax, the Nineteenth Emperor.

U. C. 945. A. D. 192. THE secrecy and expedition with which Commodus was assassinated were such, that few were at that time acquainted with the real circumstances of his death. His body was wrapped up as a bale of useless furniture, and carried through the guards, most of whom were either drunk or asleep.

Previous to the assassination, the conspirators had fixed upon a successor. This was Helvius Pertinax, whose virtues and courage rendered him worthy of the most exalted station, and who had passed through many changes of fortune. He was originally the son of an enfranchised slave, called Ælius, who only gave him so much learning as would qualify him for keeping a little shop in the city. He then became a schoolmaster; he afterwards studied the law, and after that became a soldier: in the last station his behaviour was such, as to raise him to the post of captain of a cohort against the Parthians. Being thus introduced to arms, he went through the usual gradations of military preferment in Britain and Mæsia, until he became the commander of a legion under Aurelius. In this station he

performed such excellent services against the barbarians, that he was made consul, and successively governor of Dacia, Syria, and Asia Minor. In the reign of Commodus he was banished, and soon after recalled, and sent into Britain to reform the abuses of the army. In this employment his usual extraordinary fortune attended him: he was opposed by a sedition among the legions, and left for dead among many that were slain. However, he got over this danger, severely punished the mutineers, and established regularity and discipline among the troops he was sent to command. From thence he was removed into Africa, where the sedition of the soldiers had like to have been as fatal to him as in his former government. Removing from Africa, and fatigued with an active life, he betook himself to retirement; but Commodus, willing to keep him still in view, made him præfect of the city; which employment he filled, when the conspirators fixed upon him as the properest person to succeed to the empire.

His being advanced by Commodus only served to increase his fears of falling as an object of his suspicions; when, therefore, the conspirators repaired to his house by night, he considered their arrival as a command from the emperor for his death. Upon Lætus entering his apartment, Pertinax, without any show of fear, cried out, that for many days he had expected to end his life in that manner, wondering that the emperor had deferred it so long. However, he was not a

little surprised when informed of the real cause of their visit; and being strongly urged to accept of the empire, he at last complied with their offer.

Being carried to the camp, Pertinax was proclaimed emperor, and soon after the citizens and senate consented; their joy at the election of their new sovereign being scarce equal to that for the death of their tyrant. They then pronounced Commodus a parricide; an enemy to the gods, his country, and all mankind; and commanded that his corse should rot upon a dunghill. In the mean time, they saluted Pertinax as emperor and Cæsar, with numerous acclamations, and cheerfully took the oaths of obedience. The provinces soon after followed the example of Rome, so that he began his reign with universal satisfaction to the whole empire, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

Nothing could exceed the justice and wisdom of this monarch's reign, the short time it continued. He punished all those who had served to corrupt the late emperor, and disposed of his ill-got possessions to public uses. He attempted to restrain the licentiousness of the prætorian bands, and put a stop to the injuries and insolences they committed against the people. He sold most of the buffoons and jesters of Commodus as slaves; particularly such as had obscene names. He continually frequented the senate as often as it sat, and never refused an audience even to the meanest of the people. His success

in foreign affairs was equal to his internal policy. When the barbarous nations abroad had certain intelligence that he was emperor, they immediately laid down their arms, well knowing the opposition they were to expect from so experienced a commander. His great error was avarice, and that, in some measure, served to hasten his ruin.

The prætorian soldiers, whose manners he had attempted to reform, having been long corrupted by the indulgence and profusion of their former monarch, began to hate him for the parsimony and discipline he had introduced among them. They therefore resolved to dethrone him; and, for that purpose, declared Maternus, an ancient senator, emperor, and endeavoured to carry him to the camp to proclaim him. Maternus, however, was too just to the merits of Pertinax, and too faithful a subject, to concur in their seditious designs; wherefore, escaping out of their hands, he fled, first to the emperor, and then out of the city. They then nominated one Falco, another senator, whom the senate would have ordered for execution, had not Pertinax interposed, who declared, that during his reign no senator should suffer death.

The prætorian soldiers then resolved unanimously not to use any secret conspiracies or private contrivances, but boldly to seize upon the emperor and empire at once. They, accordingly, in a tumultuous manner marched through the streets of Rome, and entered the palace with-

out opposition. Such was the terror of their approach, that the greatest part of the emperor's attendants forsook him; while those who remained, earnestly entreated him to fly to the body of the people, and interest them in his defence. However, he rejected that advice, declaring, that it was unworthy his imperial dignity, and all his past actions, to save himself by flight. Having thus resolved to face the rebels, he had some hopes, that his presence alone would terrify and confound them. But what could his former virtues, or the dignity of command, avail against a tumultuous rabble, nursed up in vice, and ministers of former tyranny? One Thausius, a Tungrian, struck him with his lance on the breast, crying out, "The soldiers send you this." Pertinax finding all was over, covered his head with his robe, and sunk down, mangled with a multitude of wounds, which he received from various assassins. Electus, and some more of his attendants who attempted to defend him, were also slain: his son and daughter only escaped, who happened to be lodged out of the palace. Thus, after a reign of three months, Pertinax fell a sacrifice to the licentious fury of the prætorian army. From the number of his adventures, he was called the Tennis-ball of Fortune; and certainly no man ever experienced such a variety of situations, with so blameless a character.

CHAPTER XXI.

Didius Julian, the Twentieth Emperor.

THE soldiers having committed this outrage, retired, with great precipitation, and getting out of the city to the rest of their companions, expeditiously fortified their camp, expecting to be attacked by the citizens. Two days having passed without any attempt of that kind, they became more insolent; and, willing to make use of the power of which they found themselves possessed, they made proclamation, That they would sell the empire to whoever would purchase it at the highest price. In consequence of this proclamation, so odious and unjust in itself, only two bidders were found; namely, Sulpician and Didius; the former, a consular person, præfect of the city, and son-in-law to the late emperor Pertinax; the latter, a consular person likewise, a great lawyer, and the wealthiest man in the city. He was sitting with some friends at dinner when the proclamation was published; and being charmed with the prospect of unbounded power, immediately rose from the table, and hastened to the camp. Sulpician was got there before him; but as he had rather promises, than treasure, to bestow, the offers of Didius, who produced im-

U. C. 945.
A. D. 192.

mense sums of ready money, prevailed. He was received into the camp by a ladder, and the soldiers instantly swore to obey him as emperor. From the camp he was attended by his new electors into the city; the whole body of his guards, which consisted of ten thousand men, were ranged around him in such order as if they had rather prepared for battle, than a peaceable ceremony. The citizens, however, refused to confirm his election, but cursed him as he passed.

Upon being conducted to the senate-house, he addressed the few senators that were present in a very laconic speech. "Fathers, you want an "emperor, and I am the fittest person you can "choose." But even this, short as it seems, was unnecessary, since the senate had it not in their power to refuse their approbation. His speech being backed by the army, to whom he had given about a million of our money, succeeded. The choice of the soldiers was confirmed by the senate, and Didius was acknowledged emperor, now in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

It should seem by this weak monarch's conduct, when seated on the throne, that he thought the government of an empire rather a pleasure than a toil. Instead of attempting to gain the hearts of his subjects, he gave himself up to ease and inactivity, utterly regardless of the duties of his station. He was mild and gentle indeed, neither injuring any, nor expecting to be injured. But that avarice, by which he became opulent, still followed him in his exaltation; so that the

very soldiers who elected him, soon began to detest him for those qualities, so very opposite to a military character. The people also, against whose consent he was chosen, were not less his enemies. Whenever he issued from his palace, they openly poured forth their imprecations against him, crying out, "That he was a thief, "and had stolen the empire." Didius however, in the true spirit of a trader, patiently bore all their reproach, sometimes beckoning to them, with smiles, to approach him, and testifying his regard by every kind of submission.

While Didius was thus contemptuously treated at home, two valiant generals in different parts of the empire, disclaimed his authority, and boldly resolved to strike at the throne for themselves abroad. These were Pescennius Niger, governor of Syria; and Septimius Severus, commander of the German legions. Niger was beloved by the people for his clemency and valour; and the report of his proposing Pertinax for his model, and resolving to revenge his death, gained him universal esteem among the people. Being thus apprised of their inclinations, he easily induced his army in Syria to proclaim him emperor; and his title was, shortly after, acknowledged by all the kings and potentates in Asia, who sent their ambassadors to him as their lawful prince. The pleasure of thus being treated as a monarch, in some measure retarded his endeavours to secure his title. Entirely satisfied

with the homage of those about him, he neglected the opportunities of suppressing his rivals, and gave himself up to feasting and luxury at Antioch.

The conduct of Severus, an African by birth, was very different. Being proclaimed by his army, he began by promising to revenge the death of Pertinax, and took upon him his name. He next secured the fidelity of all the strong places in his province, and then resolved, with the utmost expedition, to march with his whole force directly to Rome.

In the mean time, Didius, who disregarded the attempts of Niger, was greatly alarmed at those of Severus. He first, with many solicitations, procured the senate to proclaim him a traitor. He then applied himself to make the necessary provisions to oppose him, in which he found nothing but disappointment. The cohorts that elected him, were enervated by vice and luxury; the people detested his cause; and the cities of Italy had long been disused to the arts of war. Some advised him to march forward, and meet Severus as he was crossing the Alps. Others were for sending the generals upon that expedition. The unfortunate Didius, unequal to the task of empire, and quite confounded with the multiplicity of counsels, could take no other resolution but that of awaiting his rival's coming at Rome. Accordingly, being informed of his approach, he obtained the con-

sent of the senate to send him ambassadors, offering to make him a partner in the empire. But Severus rejected this offer, conscious of his own strength, and of the weakness of the proposer. The senate soon appeared of the same sentiments, and perceiving the timidity and weakness of their present master, began to abandon him. They now began to allege, that he who could not defend the empire was not worthy to govern it. Didius vainly endeavoured to reduce them to their duty, first by entreaties, and then by threats; but these only served to hasten his destruction. The senate being called together, as was formerly practised in the times of the commonwealth, by the consuls, they unanimously decreed, that Didius should be deprived of the empire, and that Severus should be proclaimed in his stead. They then commanded Didius to be slain, and sent messengers for this purpose to the palace, where they found him disarmed, and weeping among a few friends, that still adhered to his interest. When the executioners began to prepare for their fatal errand, he expostulated with them, demanding what crime he had committed. He could not be persuaded to think that paying his money, and receiving an empire in exchange, deserved so severe a punishment. The executioners, however, were neither able nor willing to enter into the merits of the cause; they presently led him into the secret baths of the palace, and obliging him to stretch

his neck forward, after the manner of condemned criminals, struck off his head, and placed it up in those courts where he had formerly pleaded with great success.

CHAPTER XXII.

Septimius Severus, the Twenty-first Emperor.

U.C. 948.
A.D. 195.

THE senate having thus dispatched Didius, sent ambassadors to Severus, yielding him obedience, granting him the ensigns and the usual titles of emperor, and informing him of the death of Didius. Severus, who was now about forty-seven years of age, received them with all proper respect, and entertaining them honourably, continued his march towards Rome. As he came near the city, his first exertion of power was, to have all the prætorian soldiers, who had lately sold the empire, come forth, unarmed, to meet him. These, though sensible of their danger, had no other resource left but compliance; and accordingly came forward, with branches of laurel, as to welcome his approach. Severus, however, soon showed how little their present submission could atone for their past offences: after upbraiding them, in a

short speech, with all their crimes, he commanded them to be instantly stripped of their military habits, deprived of the name and honour of soldiers, and banished a hundred miles from Rome. He then entered the city in a military manner, took possession of the palace, and promised the senate to conduct himself with clemency and justice. However, though he united great vigour with the most refined policy, yet his African cunning was considered as a particular defect in him. He is celebrated for his wit, learning, and prudence; but equally blamed for perfidy and cruelty. In short, he seemed equally disposed to the performance of the greatest acts of virtue and the most bloody severities. He began his command, by seizing all the children of such as had employments or authority in the East, and detained them as pledges for the loyalty of their parents. He next supplied the city with corn, and then, with all possible expedition, marched against Niger, who was still considered, and honoured, as emperor of the East.

One of the chief obstacles to his march, was, the leaving behind him Clodius Albinus, commander of the legions in Britain, whom he by all means endeavoured to secure to his interests. For this end he endeavoured to prevail upon him, by giving him hopes of succeeding to the empire; insinuating that he himself was declining, and his children as yet but infants. To deceive him still further, he wrote in the same style to the senate, gave him the title of Cæsar, and

ordered money to be coined with his image. These artifices serving to lull Albinus into false security, Severus marched against Niger with all his forces. After some undecisive conflicts, the last great battle that was fought between these two extraordinary men, was upon the plains of Issus, on the very spot where Alexander had formerly conquered Darius. Beside the two great armies drawn up on the plain, the neighbouring mountains were covered with infinite numbers of people, who were merely led by curiosity to become spectators of an engagement that was to determine the empire of the world. The fate of the battle was that which we have almost ever found between European and Asiatic troops of nearly equal numbers. Severus was conqueror; and Niger's head being struck off by some soldiers of the conquering army, was insultingly carried through the camp on the point of a lance.

This victory secured Severus the possession of the throne. However, the Parthians, Persians, and some other neighbouring nations, took up arms, under a pretence of vindicating Niger's cause. The emperor marched against them in person, had many engagements with them, and obtained such signal victories over them, as enlarged the empire, and established peace in the East.

Niger being no more, Severus now turned his views against Albinus, whom he resolved by every means to destroy. For this purpose he

sent some assassins into Britain, under a pretence of bringing him letters, but in reality to dispatch him. Albinus being apprised of their designs, prevented their attempt by recurring to open force, and proclaiming himself emperor. Nor was he without a powerful army to support his pretensions; of which Severus being sensible, he bent his whole force to oppose him. From the East he continued his course across the straits of Byzantium, into the most western parts of Europe, without intermission. Equally regardless of the most parching heats and the most rigorous colds, he led his soldiers bareheaded over mountains covered with snow. Albinus being informed of his approach, went over to meet him with his forces into Gaul; so that the campaign on both sides was carried on with great vigour. Fortune seemed for a while variable; but at last a decisive engagement came on, which was one of the most desperate recorded in the Roman history. It lasted from morning till night, without any seeming advantage on either side; at length the troops of Severus began to fly, and he himself happening to fall from his horse, the army of Albinus cried out victory. But the engagement was soon renewed with vigour by Lætus, one of Severus's commanders, who came up with a body of reserve, designing to destroy both parties, and make himself emperor. This attempt, though designed against both, turned out entirely to the advantage of Severus. He, therefore, again charged

with such fury and exactness, that he soon plucked the victory from those who but a short time before seemed conquerors; and pursuing them into the city of Lyons, took Albinus prisoner, and cut off his head; treating his dead body with insults that could only flow from a mean and revengeful temper. All the senators who were slain in battle, he ordered to be quartered; and such as were taken alive, were immediately executed.

Having thus, by means of his army, secured himself in possession of the empire, upon his return to Rome he loaded his soldiers with rewards and honours, giving them such privileges as strengthened his own power, while they destroyed that of the state. For the soldiers, who had hitherto showed the strongest inclinations to an abuse of power, were now made arbiters of the fate of emperors; and we shall henceforward behold them setting them up and dethroning them at pleasure.

Being thus secure of his army, he resolved to give way to his natural turn for conquests, and to oppose his arms against the Parthians, who were then invading the frontiers of the empire. Having, therefore previously given the government of domestic policy to one Plautian, a particular favourite, to whose daughter he married his son Caracalla, he set out for the East, and prosecuted the war with his usual expedition and success. He forced submission from the king of Armenia, destroyed several cities in Arabia Fe-

lix, landed on the Parthian coasts, took and plundered the famous city Ctesiphon, marched back through Palestine and Egypt, and at length returned to Rome in triumph.

During this interval, Plautian, who was left to direct the affairs of Rome, began to think of aspiring to the empire himself. He had before been remarkably cruel to the Christians, and now he resolved to increase the number of his crimes by ingratitude and treason. Upon the emperor's return, he employed a tribune of the prætorian cohorts, of which he was the commander, to assassinate him; as likewise his son Caracalla. The tribune seemed cheerfully to undertake this dangerous office; but instead of going through with it, informed Severus of his favourite's treachery. He at first received it as an improbable story, and as the artifice of one who envied his favourite's fortune. However, he was at last persuaded to permit the tribune to conduct Plautian to the emperor's apartments, to be a testimony against himself. With this intent, the tribune went and amused him with a pretended account of his killing the emperor and his son; desiring him, if he thought fit to see them dead, to go with him to the palace. As Plautian ardently desired their deaths, he readily gave credit to his relation, and following the tribune, was conducted at midnight, into the innermost recesses. But what must have been his disappointment, when, instead of finding the emperor lying dead, as he expected, he beheld

the room lighted up with torches, and Severus surrounded by his friends, prepared in array to receive him. Being asked by the emperor, with a stern countenance, what had brought him there at that unseasonable time; he was at first utterly confounded, and, not knowing what excuse to make, he ingenuously confessed the whole, entreating forgiveness for what he had intended. The emperor seemed in the beginning inclined to pardon; but Caracalla, his son, who from the earliest age showed a disposition to cruelty, spurned him away in the midst of his supplications, and, with his sword, ran him through the body.

Severus having escaped this danger, spent a considerable time in visiting some cities in Italy, permitting none of his officers to sell places of trust or dignity, and distributing justice with the strictest impartiality. He took such an exact order in managing his exchequer, that, notwithstanding his great expences, he left more money behind him than any of his predecessors. His armies also were kept upon the same respectable footing, so that he feared no invasion. Being equally attentive to the preservation of all parts of the empire, he resolved to make an expedition into Britain, where the Romans were in danger of being destroyed, or compelled to fly the province. Wherefore, after appointing his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, joint successors in the empire, and taking them with him, he landed in Bri-

tain, to the great terror of such as had drawn down his resentment. Upon his progress into the country, he left his son Geta in the southern part of the province, which had continued in obedience, and marched, with his son Caracalla against the Caledonians. In this expedition, his army suffered prodigious hardships in pursuing the enemy; they were obliged to hew their way through intricate forests, to drain extensive marshes, and form bridges over rapid rivers; so that he lost fifty thousand men by fatigue and sickness. However, he supported all these inconveniences with unrelenting bravery; and prosecuted his successes with such vigour, that he compelled the enemy to beg for peace; which they obtained, not without the surrender of a considerable part of their country, together with all their arms and military preparations. Thus giving peace to Britain, for its better security he built that famous wall which still goes by his name, extending from Solway Frith on the west, to the German ocean on the east. It was eight feet broad and twelve feet high, planted with towers at a mile's distance from each other, and communicating by pipes of brass in the wall, which conveyed instructions from one garrison to another with incredible dispatch. Severus having thus punished his enemies, retired to York; where, partly through age and fatigue, and partly through grief for the irreclaimable life of Caracalla, he found himself daily declining. To add to the distress

of his situation, he was informed, that the soldiers had revolted, and declared his son emperor. In this exigence, he seemed once more to recall his natural vigour; he got himself immediately into his litter, and commanded the new emperor, with the tribunes and centurions, to be brought before him. Though all were willing to court the favour of the young emperor, such was the authority of Severus, that none dared to disobey. They appeared before him confounded and trembling, and implored pardon upon their knees. Upon which, putting his hand to his head, he cried out, "Know, that it is the head that governs, "and not the feet." However, soon perceiving his disorder to increase, and knowing that he could not outlive it, he could not help observing in his agony, that though he had been all that a man could be, it was of no service to him at that painful hour. Then ordering his urn to be brought, wherein his ashes were to be enclosed, "Little urn," said he, "thou shalt now contain what the world could "not contain." Then addressing his friends that stood near him, "When I took the empire "upon me," said he, "I found it declining "and exhausted: I now leave it strong and "lasting to my sons, if they prove virtuous; "but feeble and desperate, if otherwise." His pains now increasing, especially in his feet, he called for poison; which being refused him, he

loaded his stomach with food, which not being able to digest, it soon brought him to his end, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, after an active, though cruel, reign of about eighteen years.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Caracalla and Geta, the Twenty-second Emperors.

CARACALLA and Geta being acknowledged as emperors by the army, began to show a mutual hatred to each other, even before their arrival at Rome. Their only agreement was, in resolving to deify Severus, their father; but soon after, each sought to attach the senate and army to his own particular interest. They were of very opposite dispositions: Caracalla was fierce and cruel to an extreme degree; Geta was mild and merciful; so that the city soon found the dangerous effects of being governed by two princes of equal power and contrary inclinations.

U. C. 964.
A. D. 211.

But this opposition was of no long continuance; for Caracalla, being resolved to govern alone, furiously entered Geta's apartment, and, followed by ruffians, slew him in his mother's

arms. Having committed this detestable murder, he issued, with great haste, from the palace, crying out, that his brother would have slain him, and that he was obliged, in self-defence, to retaliate the intended injury. He then took refuge among the prætorian cohorts, and, in a pathetic tone, began to implore their assistance, still making the same excuse for his conduct. To this he added a much more prevailing argument, promising to bestow upon them the largesses usually given upon the election of new emperors, and distributing among them almost all the treasures which had been amassed by his father. By such persuasives, the soldiers did not hesitate to proclaim him sole emperor, and to stigmatize the memory of his brother Geta as a traitor, and an enemy to the commonwealth. The senators were soon after induced, either through favour or fear, to approve what had been done by the army: Caracalla began to reign alone, wept for the death of his brother, whom he had slain; and, to carry his hypocrisy to the utmost extreme, ordered him to be adored as a god.

Being now emperor, he went on to mark his course with blood. Whatever was done by Domitian or Nero, fell short of this monster's barbarities. Lætus, who first advised him to murder his brother, was the first who fell a sacrifice to his jealousy. His own wife, Plautina, followed. Papinian, the renowned civilian, was beheaded, for refusing to write in vindication

of his cruelty; answering the emperor's request, by observing, that it was much easier to commit a parricide than to defend it. He commanded all governors to be slain that his brother had appointed, and destroyed not less than two thousand persons who had adhered to his party. Whole nights were spent in the execution of his bloody decrees; and the dead bodies of people, of all ranks, were carried out of the city in carts, where they were burnt in heaps, without any of the ceremonies of a funeral. Upon a certain occasion, he ordered his soldiers to set upon a crowded audience in the theatre, only for discountenancing a charioteer whom he happened to favour. Perceiving himself hated by the people, he publicly said, that he could ensure his own safety, though not their love; so that he neither valued their reproaches nor feared their hatred.

This safety, which he so much built upon, was placed in the protection of his soldiers. He exhausted the treasury, drained the provinces, and committed a thousand acts of rapacity, merely to keep them steadfast in his interests; and being disposed to trust himself with them particularly, he resolved to lead them upon a visit through all the provinces of the empire. He first went into Germany, where, to oblige the natives, he dressed himself in the habit of their country. From thence he travelled into Macedonia, where he pretended to be a great admirer of Alexander the Great; and

among other extravagances, caused a statue of that monarch to be made with two faces; one of which resembled Alexander, and the other himself. He was so corrupted by flattery, that he called himself Alexander; walked as he was told that monarch had walked, and, like him, bent his head to one shoulder. Shortly after, arriving at Lesser Asia and the ruins of Troy, as he was viewing the tomb of Achilles, he took it into his head to resemble that hero: and one of his freedmen happening to die at that time, he used the same ceremonies that were performed at the tomb of Patroclus. Passing from thence into Egypt, he cut off numbers at once, in the amphitheatre at Alexandria, only for having passed some jests upon his person and vices. The slaughter was so great, that the streams of blood, flowing down, discoloured the mouth of the river Nile.

Going from thence into Syria, he invited Artabanus, king of Parthia, to a conference, desiring his daughter in marriage, and promising him the most honourable protection. In consequence of this, that king met him on a spacious plain, unarmed, and only attended with a vast concourse of his nobles. This was what Caracalla desired. Regardless of his promise, or the law of nations, he instantly surrounded him with armed troops, let in wild beasts among his attendants, and made a most terrible slaughter among them, Artabanus himself escaping with the utmost difficulty. For

this vile treachery, he obtained from the senate the surname of Parthicus.

Upon his return towards Rome, it would seem as if his vices were inexhaustible; for, having been guilty of parricide, he now resolved to marry the mother of Geta, whom he had slain. It happened that one day, seeing her drop her veil, which disclosed her naked bosom, which was extremely beautiful, he told her, That he would possess those charms he beheld, if it were lawful. To this unnatural request, she hesitated not to answer, That he might enjoy all things, who possessed all. Whereupon, setting aside all duty and respect for his deceased father, he celebrated his nuptials with her in public, totally disregarding the censures and the sarcasms of mankind.

However, though he disregarded shame, he was not insensible to fear. He was ever uneasy in the consciousness of being universally hated; and was continually consulting astrologers concerning what death he should die. Among others, he sent one of his confidants, named Maternianus, with orders to consult all the astrologers in the city concerning his end. Maternianus considered this as a proper time to get rid of Macrinus, the emperor's principal commander in Mesopotamia, a man who was daily supplanting him in his master's favour. He therefore informed him by letter, as if from the astrologers, that Macrinus had a design against his life; and they consequently advised

him to put the conspirator to death. This letter was sent sealed, and made up, amongst many others, to be conveyed with the greater secrecy, and delivered to the emperor, as he was preparing for a chariot race. However, as it never was his custom to interrupt his pleasures for his business, he gave the packet to Macrinus to read over, and to inform him of the contents, when more at leisure. In perusing these letters, when Macrinus came to that which regarded himself, he was unable to contain his surprise and terror. His first care was, to reserve the letter in question to himself, and to acquaint the emperor only with the substance of the rest. He then set about the most probable means of compassing his death, by which alone he could expect any safety. At length he determined to apply to one Martial, a man of great strength, and a centurion of the guards, who hated the emperor from various motives, particularly for the death of a brother, whom Caracalla had ordered to be slain. Him, therefore, Macrinus exhorted to revenge his brother's death, by killing the tyrant, which he might easily effect, as being always so near his person. Martial readily undertook the dangerous task, being willing to meet death himself, so he might obtain his desire of seeing the tyrant expire before him. Accordingly, as the emperor was riding out one day, near a little city called Carræ, he happened to withdraw himself privately, upon a natural occasion, with only one page to hold

his horse. This was the opportunity Martial had so long and ardently desired; wherefore, running to him hastily, as if he had been called, he stabbed the emperor in the back, so that he died immediately. Having performed this hardy attempt, Martial, unconcernedly, returned to his troop; but retiring, by insensible degrees, he endeavoured to secure himself by flight. But his companions, soon missing him, and the page giving information of what had been done, he was pursued by the German horse, and cut in pieces.

During the reign of this execrable tyrant, which continued six years, the empire was every day declining; the soldiers were entirely masters of every election; and as there were various armies in different parts, so there were as many interests all opposite to each other. Caracalla, by satisfying their most unreasonable appetites, destroyed all discipline among them, and all subordination in the state. However, the constitution of Rome at present pretty much resembled that of ancient Rome; kings or governors were chosen at both times by the people; but in ancient Rome, those people were but occasionally soldiers; in the latter empire, they were soldiers by profession.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Oppillius Macrinus, the Twenty-third Emperor.

U. C. 970. A. D. 217. THE soldiers, now without an emperor, after a suspense of two days, fixed upon Macrinus, who took all possible methods to conceal his being privy to Caracalla's murder. The senate confirmed their choice shortly after; and likewise that of his son Diadumenus, whom he took as a partner in the empire. Macrinus was fifty-three years old when he entered upon the government of the empire. He was of obscure parentage; some say, by birth a Moor, who by the mere rotation of office, being made first præfect of the prætorian bands, was now, by treason and accident, called to fill the throne. We are told but little of this emperor, except his engaging in a bloody, though undecided battle, with Artabanus, king of Parthia, who came to take vengeance for the injury he had sustained in the late reign: however, this monarch, finding his real enemy dead, was content to make peace, and returned into Parthia. Something is also said of the severity of this emperor's discipline; for to such a pitch of licentiousness was the Roman army now arrived, that the most severe punishments were unable to re-

strain the soldiers; and yet the most gentle inflictions were looked upon as severity. It was this rigorous discipline, together with the artifices of Mæsa, grand-mother to Heliogabalus, the natural son of Caracalla, that caused the emperor's ruin. Heliogabalus was priest of a temple dedicated to the Sun, in Emesa, a city of Phœnicia, and though but fourteen years old, was greatly loved by the army, for the beauty of his person, and the memory of his father, whom they still considered as their greatest benefactor. This was soon perceived by the grand-mother, who being very rich in gold and jewels, gave liberal presents among them, while they frequently repaired to her temple, both from the garrison in the city, and the camp of Macrinus. This intercourse growing every day more frequent, and the soldiers being disgusted with the severities of their present emperor Macrinus, they began to think of placing Heliogabalus in his stead. Accordingly, sending for him to their camp, he was immediately proclaimed; and such were the hopes of his virtues, that all men began to affect his interests.

Macrinus, who, at this time was pursuing his pleasures at Antioch, gave but little attention to the first report, only sending his lieutenant Julian, with some legions, to quell the insurrection. However, these, like the rest, soon declared for Heliogabalus, and slew their general. It was then that Macrinus found he had treated the rebellion too slightly; he therefore resolved,

with his son, to march derectly against the seditious legions, and force them to their duty. Both parties met on the confines of Syria; the battle was for some time furious and obstinate; but at last, Macrinus was overthrown, and obliged to seek safety by flight. His principal aim was to get to Rome, where he knew his presence was desired; wherefore, he travelled through the provinces of Asia Minor, with the utmost expedition and privacy, but unfortunately fell sick at the city of Chalcedon. There those who were sent in pursuit, overtook, and put him to death, together with his son Diadumenus, after a short reign of one year and two months.

CHAPTER XXV.

Heliogabalus, the Twenty-fourth Emperor.

U. C. 971. A. D. 218. THE senate and citizens of Rome being obliged to submit to the appointment of the army, as usual, Heliogabalus ascended the throne, at the age of fourteen. One at so early an age, invested with unlimited power, and surrounded with flatterrers, could be expected to act only as these thought proper to direct. This young emperor was entirely led

by them; and being sensible that it was in his power to indulge all his appetites, he studied only their gratification. As he is described by historians, he appears a monster of sensuality. But little better could be expected from an emperor of fourteen, let loose from every restraint. His short life, therefore, is but a tissue of effeminacy, lust, and extravagance. He married, in the small space of four years, six wives, and divorced them all. This was not the worst; he took upon himself the quality of a woman, and married one of his officers; after that, he took for husband, one Hierocles, a slave, whom he suffered to beat him severely when he was guilty of any excess; all which he endured with great patience, saying, that a wife was obliged to submit to her husband. He built a temple to the Sun; and, willing that his god should have a wife as well as himself, he married him to Pallas, and, shortly after, to the Moon. His palace was a place of rendezvous for all the prostitutes of Rome, whom he frequently met naked, calling them his fellow-soldiers, and companions in the field. He was so fond of the sex, that he carried his mother with him to the senate-house, and demanded that she should always be present when matters of importance were debated. He even went so far as to build a senate-house for women, with suitable orders, habits, and distinctions, of which his mother was made president. They met several times; all their debates turning upon the fashions of the day, and the dif-

ferent formalities to be used at giving and receiving visits. To these follies he added great cruelty and boundless prodigality; so that he was heard to say, that such dishes as were cheaply obtained, were scarce worth eating. His suppers, therefore, generally cost six thousand crowns, and often sixty thousand. He always dressed in cloth of gold and purple, enriched with precious stones, and yet never wore the same habit twice. His palace, his chambers, and his beds, were all furnished of the richest stuffs, covered with gold and jewels. Whenever he took horse, all the way between his apartment and the place of mounting was covered with gold and silver dust, strewn at his approach. In short, all his government, actions, dress, and furniture, testified the extravagant folly of a vicious boy. Thus he was seen at one time driving elephants yoked to his chariot; at another, mastiff dogs; at one time he was drawn by lions; at another by four naked women. He was so extravagantly whimsical, that he caused a collection to be made of ten thousand pound weight of spiders, to be a testimony of the magnitude of the city. He would invite guests to supper in the same spirit of absurdity; thus he gave a feast to eight old men, eight bald men, eight blind men of one eye, eight lame with the gout, eight deaf men, eight blacks, and eight so fat that they could scarce sit at the same table. These were the tricks of a child, and might pass for harmless follies, had he not united malevolence with every

entertainment. He was often seen to smother his guests in rooms filled with roses; and terrify them by letting loose wild beasts among them, previously deprived of their teeth and claws. It is even said, he strove to foretel what was to happen, by inspecting the entrails of young men sacrificed; and that he chose the most beautiful youths throughout Italy, to be slain for that horrid purpose.

These excesses were soon perceived by his grand-mother, Mæsa, whose intrigues had first raised him to the throne, so that she thought to lessen his power by dividing it. For this purpose, under a pretence of freeing him from the cares of public business, she persuaded him to adopt his cousin-german Alexander, as his successor; and likewise to make him his partner in the consulship. Heliogabalus, having thus raised his cousin, had scarce given him his power, when he wished again to take it away; but the virtues of this young prince had so greatly endeared the people and the army to him, that the attempt had like to have been fatal to the tyrant himself. The prætorian soldiers mutinying, attempted to kill him, as he was walking in his gardens; but he escaped, by hiding himself from their fury. However, upon returning to their camp, they continued the sedition, requiring that the emperor should remove such persons from about him, as oppressed the subject, and contributed to contaminate him. They required also the being permitted to guard the young

prince themselves; and that none of the emperor's favourites or familiars should ever be permitted to converse with him. Heliogabalus was reluctantly obliged to comply; and conscious of the danger he was in, made preparations for death, when it should arrive, in a manner truly whimsical and peculiar. He built a lofty tower, with steps of gold and pearl, from whence to throw himself headlong in case of necessity. He also prepared cords of purple silk and gold to strangle himself with; he provided golden swords and daggers to stab himself with; and poison to be kept in boxes of emerald, in order to obtain what death he chose best. Thus, fearing all things, but particularly suspicious of the designs of the senate, he banished them all out of the city: he next attempted to poison Alexander, and spread a report of his death; but perceiving the soldiers begin to mutiny, he immediately took him in his chariot to the camp, where he only experienced a fresh mortification, by finding all the acclamations of the army directed to his successor. This not a little raised his indignation, and excited his desire of revenge. He returned towards the city, threatening the most severe punishment against those who had displeased him, and meditating fresh cruelties. However, the soldiers were unwilling to give him time to put his designs in execution; they followed him directly to his palace, pursued him from apartment to apartment, till at last he was found concealed in a privy; a situation very dif-

ferent from that in which he expected to die. Having dragged him from thence through the streets, with the most bitter invectives, and having dispatched him, they attempted once more to squeeze his pampered body into a privy; but not easily effecting this, they threw it into the Tiber, with heavy weights, that none might afterwards find or give it burial. This was the miserable and ignominious death of Heliogabalus, in the eighteenth year of his age, after a detestable reign of four years. His mother also was slain at the same time by the soldiers; as well as many of the opprobrious associates of his criminal pleasures; having stakes drove up their bodies, that their deaths might be conformable to their lives.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Alexander, the Twenty-fifth Emperor.

ALEXANDER being, without opposition, declared emperor, the senate, with their usual adulation, were for conferring new titles upon him; but he modestly declined them all, alleging, that titles were only then honourable when given to virtue, not to station. This outset was a happy omen of his

U. C. 975.
A. D. 222.

future virtues; and few princes in history have been more commended by his contemporaries, or indeed more deserved commendation. To the most rigid justice he added the greatest humanity. He loved the good, and was a severe reprover of the lewd and infamous. His accomplishments were equal to his virtues. He was an excellent mathematician, geometrician, and musician; he was equally skilful in painting and sculpture; and in poetry, few of his time could equal him. In short, such were his talents, and such the solidity of his judgment, that, though but sixteen years of age, he was considered as a wise old man.

The first part of his reign was spent in a reformation of the abuses of his predecessor. He restored the senators to their rank; nothing being undertaken without the most sage advisers and most mature deliberation. Among the number of his advisers, was his mother Mammæa, a woman eminent for her virtues and accomplishments, and who made use of her power as well to secure her son the affections of his subjects, as to procure them the most just administration. Among his minsters of state, the principal were Ulpian, the celebrated lawyer; and Sabinus, the senator, who was called the Cato of his time. Merit only was the passport of his protection; he would never permit offices or places to be purchased for money; it being a frequent maxim with him, that he who bought an office, must consequently be a seller of justice. "I cannot,"

he would say, "bear to see merchants in authority; if I first allow them to be such, I cannot after condemn their conduct: for how could I punish the person who sold, when I permitted him to be a buyer?" He was, therefore, a rigid punisher of such magistrates as took bribes, saying, that it was not enough to deprive such of their places; for their trusts being great, their lives, in most cases, ought to pay for a breach of them. On the contrary, he thought he could never sufficiently reward such as had been remarkable for their justice and integrity, keeping a register of their names, and sometimes asking such of them as appeared modest and unwilling to approach him, why they were so backward in demanding their reward? and why they suffered him to be in their debt? In short, he was observed every day to have done some good; in which he had the advantage of Titus, by having a longer reign. His clemency extended even to the Christians, who had been punished in the former reigns with unrelenting barbarity. Upon a contest between them and a company of cooks and vintners, about a piece of public ground, which the one claimed as a place for public worship, and the other for exercising their respective trades, he decided the point by his rescript, in these words: "It is better that God be worshipped there in any manner, than that the place should be put to uses of drunkenness or debauchery."

His abilities in war were not inferior to his assiduity in peace. The empire, which, from the remissness and debauchery of the preceding reigns, now began to be attacked on every side, wanted a person of vigour and conduct to defend it. Alexander faced the enemy wherever the invasion was most formidable, and, for a short time, deferred its ruin. His first expedition, in the tenth year of his reign, was against the Parthians and Persians, whom he opposed with a powerful army. His regularity and discipline were things almost unknown among the debauched soldiery; his camp resembled a well-regulated city, his soldiers were well clothed and armed, and his cavalry properly mounted; so that his army now gave an idea of Rome in its splendour. His manner of living was like that of the meanest sentinel; whenever he dined or supped, he sat with his tent open, that all men might be witnesses of the frugality of his table. Success against the enemy was the reward of so much military virtue. The Persians were routed in a decisive engagement, with great slaughter; the cities of Ctesiphon and Babylon were once more taken, and the Roman empire restored to its former limits. Upon his return to Antioch, his mother, Mammæa, sent for the famous Origen, to be instructed by him in the principles of Christianity; and after discoursing with him for some time upon the subject, dismissed him, with a proper safeguard, to

his native city of Alexandria. About the same time that Alexander was victorious in the East, Furius Celsus, his general, obtained a signal victory over the Mauritanians, in Africa; Varius Macrinus was successful in Germany, and Junius Palmatus returned with conquest from Armenia. However, the number of these victories only hastened the decline of the empire, which was wasted by the exertion of its own strength, and was now becoming little more than a splendid ruin.

About the thirteenth year of his reign, the Upper Germans, and other northern nations, began to pour down immense swarms of people upon the more southern parts of the empire. They passed the Rhine and the Danube with such fury, that all Italy was thrown into the most extreme consternation. The emperor, ever ready to expose his person for the safety of his people, made what levies he could, and went in person to stem the torrent, which he speedily effected. It was in the course of his successes against the enemy, that he was cut off by a mutiny among his own soldiers. The legions encamped about Moguntia, having been abominably corrupted, during the reign of Heliogabalus, and trained up in all kinds of rapine and disobedience, required the most strict command. Alexander could neither endure their tumultuary obedience, nor they his regular discipline. His own faults, and those of his mother Mammæa, were objected against him. They openly ex-

claimed, That they were governed by an avaricious woman and a mean-spirited boy, and resolved upon electing an emperor, capable of ruling alone. In this general revolt, Maximin, an old and experienced commander, held frequent conferences with the soldiers, and inflamed the sedition. At length, being determined to dispatch their present emperor, they sent an executioner into his tent, who immediately struck off his head; and, shortly after, that of his mother. He died in the twenty-ninth year of his age, after a prosperous reign of thirteen years and nine days; his death proving, that neither virtue nor justice can guard us against the misfortunes of this life; and that good men are to expect their reward in a place of more equitable distribution.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Maximin, the Twenty-sixth Emperor.

U. C. 988. A. D. 235. THE tumults occasioned by the death of Alexander being appeased, Maximin, who had been the chief promoter of the sedition, was chosen emperor. This extraordinary man, whose character deserves

particular attention, was born of very obscure parentage, being the son of a poor herdsman of Thrace. In the beginning he followed his father's humble profession, and only exercised his personal courage against the robbers who infested that part of the country in which he lived. Soon after, his ambition increasing, he left his poor employment, and enlisted in the Roman army, where he soon became remarkable for his great strength, discipline, and courage. This gigantic man was no less than eight feet and a half high; he had a body and strength corresponding to his size, being not less remarkable for the magnitude than the symmetry of his person. His wife's bracelet usually served him for a thumb ring; and his strength was so great, that he was able to draw a carriage which two oxen could not move. He could strike out a horse's teeth with a blow of his fist; and break its thigh with a kick. His diet was as extraordinary as the rest of his endowments; he generally eat forty pounds weight of flesh every day, and drank six gallons of wine, without committing any debauch in either. With a frame so athletic, he was possessed of a mind undaunted in danger, and neither fearing or regarding any man. The first time he was made known was to the emperor Severus, who was then celebrating games on the birth-day of his son Geta. Maximin was at that time a rude countryman, and requested the emperor to be permitted to contend for the prizes which were distributed to the best

runners, wrestlers, and boxers of the army. Severus, unwilling to infringe the military discipline, would not permit him at first, as he was a Thracian peasant, to combat, except with slaves, against whom his strength appeared astonishing. He overcame sixteen in running, one after the other; he then kept up with the emperor on horseback; and having fatigued him in the course, he was opposed to seven of the most active soldiers, and overcame them with the greatest ease. From that time he was particularly noticed, and taken into the emperor's body guard, in which his assiduity and prompt obedience were particularly remarkable. In the reign of Caracalla he was made a centurion, and distinguished himself, in that station, by his strict attention to the morals and discipline of those he commanded. When made a tribune, he still retained the hardy simplicity of his life; ate as the meanest sentinel; spent whole days in exercising the troops; and would now and then himself wrestle with eight or ten of the strongest men in the army, whom he threw with scarce any effort. Being thus become one of the most remarkable men in the empire, both for courage, discipline, and personal activity, he gave shortly after, a very high instance of his unshaken fidelity: for when Macrinus was made emperor, he refused to serve under a prince that had betrayed his sovereign; and retired to Thrace, his native country, where he followed commerce, and purchased

some lands, content with privacy rather than a guilty dependence. Upon the accession of Heliogabulus to the throne, this bold veteran once more returned to the army, but was, in the very beginning, disgusted at the base effeminacy of the emperor; who, hearing amazing instances of his strength, asked him, if he were equally capable in combats of another nature. This lewd demand was so little suitable to the temper of Maximin, that he instantly left the court. Upon the death of Heliogabalus, he again returned to Rome, and was received with great kindness by Alexander, who particularly recommended him to the senate, and made him commander of the fourth legion, which consisted of new raised soldiers. Maximin gladly accepted of this charge, and performed his duty with great exactness and success, setting an example of virtue and discipline to all the commanders of the army. Nor was his valour less apparent against the Germans, whither he was sent with his legion; so that he was unanimously considered as the boldest, bravest, most valiant, and most virtuous soldier in the whole empire. He soon, however, forfeited all these justly merited titles when he was raised to the throne; and, from being the most loved commander in the army, he became the most cruel tyrant upon earth. The change in his disposition may readily serve to show, how dangerous a thing is power, that could transform a person with so many rigid virtues into such a monster of iniquity. Yet,

in fact, his former virtues were all of the severe and rigid kind; which, without any education, might very easily degenerate into tyranny; so that he might have mistaken his succeeding cruelty for discipline, and his severity for justice. However this be, Maximin is considered as one of the greatest monsters of cruelty that ever disgraced power; and, fearful of nothing himself, he seemed to sport with the terrors of all mankind.

Maximin seeing himself advanced to so high a station as the empire, began immediately by endeavouring to force obedience from every rank of people, and by vindicating his authority by violence. The senate and the people of Rome were the first that incurred his resentment. They utterly refusing to confirm the election of the army, he was the first emperor who reigned without their concurrence or approbation. However, he seemed regardless of their opposition, proceeding to secure his election by putting all such to death as had been raised by his predecessor. The Christians also having found favour in the former reign, felt the weight of his resentment, and were persecuted in several parts of the empire, particularly in those where he himself resided. His cruelty likewise extended to the rich, whose lives and estates became a frequent sacrifice to avarice and suspicion. But what appears a still more extraordinary instance of his cruelty, being ashamed of the meanness of his extraction, he commanded

all such as were best acquainted with him and his parentage, to be slain, although there were some among the number, that had relieved him in his low condition.

However, his cruelties did not retard his military operations, which were carried on with a spirit becoming a better monarch. He overthrew the Germans in several battles, wasted all their country with fire and sword for four hundred miles together, and set a resolution of subduing all the northern nations as far as the ocean. In these expeditions, in order to attach the soldiers more firmly to him, he increased their pay; and in every duty of the camp, he himself took as much pains as the meanest sentinel in his army, showing incredible courage and assiduity. In every engagement, wherever the conflict was hottest, Maximin was always seen fighting there in person, and destroying all before him: for being bred a barbarian, he considered it his duty to combat as a common soldier, while he commanded as a general.

In the mean time, his cruelties had so alienated the minds of his subjects, that several conspiracies were secretly aimed against him. Magnus, a consular person, and some others, had plotted to break down a wooden bridge, as soon as the emperor had passed it, and to abandon him to the enemy. But this being discovered, gave Maximin an opportunity of indulging his natural severity, upon this pre-

text alone causing above four thousand to be slain. Shortly after, some of Alexander's old soldiers withdrawing themselves from the camp, proclaimed one Quarcianus as emperor, who had been lately disgusted at Maximin for being dismissed from employment. The soldiers, in fact, constrained him to accept of the dangerous superiority to which he was exposed; and shortly after, in the spirit of the times, the person who had been the promoter of his advancement murdered him in his bed, and carried his head to Maximin, who received him kindly at first, but soon put him to a cruel death, for his complicated guilt of treason and treachery.

These partial insurrections were soon after followed by a spirit of general discontent throughout all the empire. The provinces of Africa were the first that showed their detestation of the tyrant, whose extortions and cruelties among them were become insupportable. They first slew his procurator, and afterwards considering how dangerous a crime they had committed, they resolved to throw off all expectations of pardon, and create a new emperor. Gordian was then proconsul of Africa, a person of great fame for his virtues, and greatly reverenced for a blameless life of near eighty. Him, therefore, they determined to elect; and accordingly the soldiers and natives assembling together, tumultuously entering his house, resolved to put their design in execution. Gordian, who, at first, supposed they were come

to kill him, being made sensible of their intentions, utterly refused their offer, alleging his extreme age, and Maximin's power. But all his opposition was vain; they constrained him to accept of the profferred dignity; and he, with his son Gordian, who was forty-six years of age, were declared emperors. Being thus raised, contrary to his inclinations, the old man immediately wrote to the senate, declaring that he had unwillingly accepted of the empire, and would only keep his authority till he had freed it from the tyranny of its present oppressor. The senate very joyfully confirmed his election, adjudging Maximin as an enemy and a traitor to the state. The citizens also showed an equal zeal in the cause; they flew upon such as were the reputed friends of Maximin, and tore them in pieces; even some who were innocent falling a sacrifice to the multitude's blind rage. So great an alteration being made in the city against the interests of Maximin, the senate were resolved to drive their opposition to the extreme, and accordingly made all necessary preparations for their security, ordering Maximin's governors to be displaced, and commanding all the provinces to acknowledge Gordian for emperor. This order was differently received in different parts, as people were affected to one or the other party: in some provinces the governors were slain; in others, the messengers of the senate; so that all parts of the empire felt the consequences of the civil war.

In the mean time, when Maximin was informed of these charges against him, his rage appeared ungovernable. He roared like a savage beast, and violently struck his head against the wall, showing every instance of ungovernable distraction. At length, his fury being somewhat subdued, he called his whole army together; and, in a set speech, exhorted them to revenge his cause, giving them the strongest assurances, that they should possess the estates of all such as had offended. The soldiers unanimously promised to be faithful; they received his harangue with their usual acclamation; and, thus encouraged, he led them towards Rome, breathing nothing but slaughter and revenge. However, he found many obstacles to his impetuosity; and, though he desired nothing so much as dispatch, his marches were incommodious and slow. The tumultuous and disobedient armies of the empire, were at present very different from the legions that were led on by a Sylla or a Cæsar; they were loaded with baggage, and followed by slaves and women, rather resembling an eastern caravan, than a military battalion. To these inconveniences also was added the hatred of the cities through which he passed, the inhabitants all abandoning their houses upon his approach, and securing their provisions in proper hiding places. However, in this complication of inconveniences and misfortunes, his affairs began to wear a favourable appearance in Africa; for

Capeianus, the governor of Numidia, raised a body of troops in his favour, and marched against Gordian towards Carthage, where he fought the younger Gordian, slew him, and destroyed his army. His father hearing of the death of his son, together with the loss of the battle, strangled himself in his own girdle. Capeianus pursuing his victory, entered Carthage, where he gave a loose to pillage and slaughter, under a pretence of revenging the cause of Maximin. The news of these successes was soon brought to the emperor, who now increased his diligence, and flattered himself with a speedy opportunity of revenge. He led on his large army by hasty journeys into Italy, threatening destruction to all his opposers, and ardently wishing for fresh opportunities of slaughter.

Nothing could exceed the consternation of the senate upon the news of this defeat. They now saw themselves not only deprived of the assistance of Gordian and his son, on whom they greatly relied, but also opposed by two formidable tyrants, each commanding a victorious army, directly marching towards Rome, and meditating nothing but vengeance. In this afflicting exigence, they, with great solemnity, met at the temple of Jupiter, and after the most mature deliberation chose Pupienus and Balbinus emperors conjointly. These were men who had acquired the esteem of the public both in war and peace, having commanded armies and governed provinces with great reputation; and being now

appointed to oppose Maximin, they made what levies they could, both in Rome and the country. With these, Pupienus marched to stop the progress of the invaders, leaving the city to a fresh and unlooked for calamity. This was ocasioned by two of Maximin's soldiers, who entering the senate-house, were slain by two senators. The death of these men quickly gave offence to the body of the prætorian soldiers, who instantly resolved to take revenge, but were opposed by the citizens; so that nothing was seen throughout Rome, but tumult, slaughter, and cruelty. In this universal confusion, the calamity was increased by the soldiers setting the city on fire, while the wretched inhabitants were combating each other in the midst of the flames.

Nevertheless, Maximin himself, in whose favour these seditions were promoted, did not seem to be more fortunate. Upon being informed of the new election of emperors, his fury was again renewed, and he passed the Alps, entering Italy, expecting to refresh his fatigued and famished army in that fertile part of the country. But in this he was entirely disappointed; the senate had taken such care to remove all kinds of sustenance to fortified places, that he still found himself reduced to his former necessities, while his army began to murmur for want. To this, another disappointment was added shortly after: for approaching the city of Aquileia, which he expected to enter without any difficulty, he was astonished to find it prepared for the most obsti-

nate resistance, and resolved to hold out a regular siege. This city was well fortified and populous, and the inhabitants greatly averse to Maximin's government; but what added still more to its strength, it was commanded by two excellent generals, Crispinus and Menophillus, who had so well furnished it with men and ammunition, that Maximin found no small resistance even in investing the place. His first attempt was, to take the city by storm: but the besiegers threw down such quantities of scalding pitch and sulphur upon his soldiers that they were unable to continue the assault. He then determined upon a blockade; but the inhabitants were so resolute, that even the old men and children were seen combating upon the walls, while the women cut off their hair, to furnish the soldiers with bow-strings. Maximin's rage, at this unexpected opposition, was now ungovernable; having no enemy to wreak his resentment upon, he turned it against his own commanders. He put many of his generals to death, as if the city had held out through their neglect or incapacity, while famine made great depredations upon the rest of his army. Nothing now appeared on either side to terminate the contest, except the total destruction of either. But a mutiny in Maximin's own army, a while rescued the declining empire from destruction, and saved the lives of thousands. The soldiers being long harassed by famine and fatigue, and hearing of revolts on every side, resolved to terminate

their calamities by the tyrant's death. His great strength, and his being always armed, were, at first, the principal motives to deter any from assassinating him; but at length, having made his guards accomplices in their design, they set upon him while he slept at noon in his tent, and slew both him and his son, whom he had made his partner in the empire, without any opposition. Thus died this most remarkable man, after an usurpation of about three years, and in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His assiduity when in an humble station, and his cruelty when in power, serve very well to evince, that there are some men, whose virtues are fitted for obscurity; as there are others, who only show themselves great when placed in an exalted station.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S ... MAHAL.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Pupienus and Balbinus, making together the Twenty-seventh Emperor.

THE tyrant being dead, and his body U. C.
thrown to dogs and birds of prey, Pu- 991.
pienus and Balbinus continued for some A. D.
time emperors without opposition. But 238.
the prætorian soldiers, who had long been notorious for mutiny and treason, soon resolved on further change. Nor did the dissensions between the new-made emperors themselves a little contribute to their downfall; for though both were remarkable for wisdom and age, yet they could not restrain the mutual jealousy of each other's power. Pupienus claimed the superiority from his great experience; while Balbinus was equally aspiring upon account of his family and fortune.

In this ill-judged contest, the prætorian soldiers, who were the enemies of both, set upon them in their palace, at a time when their guards were amused with seeing the Capitoline games. Pupienus perceiving their tumultuous approach, sent, with the utmost speed, for assistance from his colleague; but he, out of a culpable suspicion that something was designed against him-

self, refused to send such of the German guards as were next his person. Thus the seditious soldiers found an easy access to both the emperors' apartments, and dragging them from the palace towards the camp, slew them both, leaving their dead bodies in the streets, as a dreadful instance of their sedition.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Gordian, the Twenty-eighth Emperor.

U. C. 991. A. D. 238. IN the midst of this sedition, as the mutineers were proceeding alone, they, by accident, met Gordian, the grandson of him who was slain in Africa, and declared him emperor on the spot. The senate and people had long been reduced to the necessity of suffering their emperors to be nominated by the army; so that all they could do, in the present instance, was to confirm their choice. This prince was but sixteen years old when he began his reign, but his virtues seemed to compensate for his want of experience. His principal aims were, to unite the opposing members of the government, and to reconcile the soldiers and citizens to each other. His learning is said to have

been equal to his virtues; and we are assured that he had sixty-two thousand books in his library. His respect for Misithæus, his governor and instructor, was such, that he married his daughter, and profited by his counsels in all the critical circumstances of his reign.

The first four years of this emperor's reign were attended with the utmost prosperity; but in the fifth, he was alarmed with accounts from the East, that Sapor, king of Persia, had furiously invaded the confines of the Roman empire, and having taken Antioch, had pillaged Syria and all the adjacent provinces. Besides the Persians, the Goths also invaded the empire on their side, pouring down like an inundation from the north, and attempting to fix their residence in the kingdom of Thrace. To oppose both these invasions, Gordian prepared an army; and having gained some victories over the Goths, whom he obliged to retire, he turned his arms against the Persians, whom he defeated upon several occasions, and forced to return home with disgrace. In gaining these advantages, Misithæus, whom he had made prætorian præfect, had the principal share; his wisdom directed to success, and his courage ensured it. But he dying soon after (as it is supposed, being poisoned by Philip, an Arabian, who was appointed his successor), the fortunes of Gordian seemed to die with him. The army began to be no longer supplied with provisions as usual; murmurs were heard to prevail, and these were art-

fully fomented by Philip. Things thus proceeding from bad to worse, Philip was, at first, made equal in the command of the empire; shortly after, he was invested with the sole power; and at length, finding himself capable of perpetrating his long-meditated cruelty, Gordian was by his order slain, in the twenty-second year of his age, after a successful reign of near six years.

CHAPTER XXX.

Philip, the twenty-ninth Emperor.

U. C. 996. A. D. 243. PHILIP, having thus murdered his benefactor, was so fortunate as to be immediately acknowledged emperor by the army. The senate also, though they seemed at first to oppose his power, confirmed his election, and gave him, as usual, the title of Augustus. He was about forty years old when he came to the throne, being the son of an obscure Arabian, who had been captain of a band of robbers. Upon his exaltation, he associated his son, a boy of six years of age, as his partner in the empire; and, in order to secure his power at home, made peace with the Persians, and marched his army towards Rome. On his way, having

conceived a desire to visit his native country of Arabia, he built there a city called Philopolis; and from thence returning to Rome, he was received as emperor, and treated with all the marks of submission, though not of joy. Perhaps it was to put the people into good humour, that he caused the secular games to be celebrated, with a magnificence superior to any of his predecessors, it being just a thousand years from the building of the city. Upon occasion of these games, we are told, that both Philip and his son were converted to Christianity. However this be, a murderer and an ungrateful usurper does no great honour to whatever opinion he may happen to embrace. We have little account of the latter part of his reign in the wretched and mutilated histories of the times; we only learn, that the Goths renewing their invasions, Marinus, Philip's lieutenant, who was sent against them, revolted, and caused himself to be declared emperor. This revolt, however, was but of short duration; for the army which had raised him, repenting of their rashness, deposed him with equal levity, and put him to death. Decius was the person whom Philip appointed to command in the room of the revolting general. The chief merit of Decius with the emperor was, that when Marinus had rebelled, he averred in the senate, that the traitor's presumption would be very shortly his ruin; which when it happened accordingly, Philip appointed him to succeed in the command of the rebellious army. Decius,

who was a man of great subtlety, being thus intrusted with so much power, upon arriving at the army, found that the soldiers were resolved to invest him with the supreme authority. He, therefore, seemed to suffer their importunities as if through constraint; and, in the mean time, sent Philip word, that he had unwillingly assumed the title of emperor, the better to secure it to the rightful possessor; adding, that he only looked for a convenient opportunity of giving up his pretensions and title together. Philip, however, knew mankind too well to rely upon such professions; he, therefore, got together what forces he could, from the several provinces, and led them forward towards the confines of Italy. However, the army was scarce arrived at Verona, when it revolted in favour of Decius, and setting violently upon Philip, one of the sentinels at a blow cut off his head; or rather cleaved it asunder, separating the under jaw from the upper.

Such was the deserved death of Philip, in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of about five years; Decius being universally acknowledged as his successor.

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S ... THE TANJORE ... MAHAL.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Decius, the Thirtieth Emperor.

THE activity and wisdom of Decius, seemed in some measure to stop the hastening decline of the Roman empire. The senate seemed to think so highly of his merits, that they voted him not inferior to Trajan; and indeed he seemed, in every instance, to consult their dignity in particular, and the welfare of all the inferior ranks of people. He, among other concessions, permitted them to choose a censor, as was the custom in the flourishing times of Rome; and Valerian, his general, a man of such strict morals that his life was said to be a continual censorship, was chosen to that dignity.

U. C. 1001. A. D. 248.

But no virtues could now prevent the approaching downfall of the state; the obstinate disputes between the Pagans and the Christians within the empire, and the unceasing irruptions of barbarous nations from without, enfeebled it beyond the power of a remedy. To stop these, a persecution of the Christians, who were now grown the most numerous body of the people, was impoliticly, not to say unjustly, begun; in which thousands were put to death, and all the

arts of cruelty tried in vain to lessen their growing numbers.

This persecution was succeeded by dreadful devastations from the Goths, particularly in Thrace and Mæsia, where they had been most successful. These irruptions Decius went to oppose in person, and coming to an engagement with them, slew thirty thousand of these barbarians in one battle. However, being resolved to pursue his victory, he was, by the treachery of Gallus, his own general, led into a defile, where the king of the Goths had secret information to attack him. In this disadvantageous situation, Decius first saw his son killed with an arrow, and soon after his whole army totally put to the rout. Wherefore, resolving not to survive the loss, he put spurs to his horse, and instantly plunging into a quagmire, was swallowed up, and his body could never after be found. He died in the fiftieth year of his age, after a short reign of two years and six months, leaving the character of an excellent prince, and one capable of averting the destruction of the empire, if human means could effect it.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Gallus, the Thirty-first Emperor.

GALLUS, who had thus betrayed the Roman army, had address enough to get himself declared emperor by that part of it which survived the defeat: he was forty-five years old when he began to reign, and was descended from an honourable family in Rome. He was the first who bought a dishonourable peace from the enemies of the state, agreeing to pay a considerable annual tribute to the Goths, whom it was his duty to repress. Having thus purchased a short remission from war by the disgrace of his country, he returned to Rome, to give a loose to his pleasures, regardless of the wretched situation of the empire.

U. C. 1004.
A. D. 251.

Nothing can be more deplorable than the state of the Roman provinces at that time. The Goths, and other barbarous nations, not satisfied with their late bribes to continue in peace, broke down, like a torrent, upon the eastern parts of Europe. On the other side, the Persians and Scythians committed unheard-of ravages in Mesopotamia and Syria. The emperor, regardless of every national calamity, was lost in debauch and sensuality at home; and the Pagans were

allowed a power of persecuting the Christians through all parts of the state. These calamities were succeeded by a pestilence from Heaven, that seemed to have in general spread over every part of the earth, and which continued raging for several years, in an unheard-of manner; and all these by a civil war, which followed shortly after, between Gallus and his general Æmilianus, who, having gained a victory over the Goths, was proclaimed emperor by his conquering army. Gallus hearing this, soon roused from the intoxications of pleasure, and prepared to oppose his dangerous rival. Both armies met in Mæsia, and a battle ensued, in which Æmilianus was victorious, and Gallus with his son were slain. His death was merited, and his vices were such as to deserve the detestation of posterity. He died in the forty-seventh year of his age, after an unhappy reign of two years and four months, in which the empire suffered inexpressible calamities.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Valerian, the Thirty-second Emperor.

ÆMILIANUS, after his victory over Gallus, expected to be acknowledged as emperor, but he soon found himself miserably disappointed. The senate refused to acknowledge his claims; and an army that was stationed near the Alps, chose Valerian, their own commander, to succeed to the throne. In consequence of this, Æmilian's soldiers began to consider their general as an obstacle to the universal tranquillity, and slew him, in order to avoid the mischiefs of a civil war.

U. C. 1006.
A. D. 253.

Valerian being thus universally acknowledged as emperor, although arrived at the age of seventy, set about reforming the state with a spirit that seemed to mark a good mind and unabated vigour. But reformation was then grown almost impracticable. The disputes between the Pagans and Christians divided the empire as before, and a dreadful persecution of the latter ensued. The northern nations overran the Roman dominions in a more formidable manner than ever, and the empire began to be usurped by a multitude of petty leaders, each of whom, neglecting the general interests of the

state, set up for himself. To add to these calamities, the Persians, under their king Sapor, invaded Syria, and coming into Mesopotamia, took the unfortunate Valerian prisoner, as he was making preparations to oppose them. Nothing can exceed the indignities, as well as the cruelties, which were practised upon this unhappy monarch, thus fallen into the hands of his enemies. Sapor, we are told, always used him as a footstool for mounting his horse; he added the bitterness of ridicule to his insults, and usually observed, that an attitude like that to which Valerian was reduced, was the best statue that could be erected in honour of his victory. This horrid life of insult and sufferance continued for seven years; and was, at length, terminated by the cruel Persian's commanding his prisoner's eyes to be plucked out, and afterwards causing him to be flayed alive.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Galienus, the Thirty-third Emperor.

VALERIAN being taken prisoner, as hath been just mentioned, Galienus, his son, promising to revenge the insult, was chosen emperor, being then about forty-one years old. However, he soon discovered that he sought rather the splendours than the toils of the empire; for after having overthrown Ingenuus, a commander in Pannonia, who had assumed the title of emperor, he sat down, as if fatigued with conquest, and gave himself up to ease and luxury. While the empire was afflicted throughout with pestilence and famine; while the Germans overran Rhætia; while the Alemans wasted Gaul; while the Goths, and Quadi, and Sarmatians, poured forth from their forests, and carried desolation over half the empire; Galienus remained in the utmost tranquillity at Rome, inventing new pleasures, bathing among prostitutes, studying how to preserve figs green all the year round, and diverting himself among mimicks, parasites, and buffoons. When informed of the loss of his provinces or the calamities of the state, he usually answered with a jest; so that his total inattention gave rise to

U. C. 1012.
A. D. 259.

a number of rebellions, that divided the empire into a multitude of independent sovereignties.

It was at this time, that no less than thirty pretenders were seen contending with each other for the dominion of the state, and adding the calamities of civil war to the rest of the misfortunes of this devoted empire. These are generally known in history by the name of the Thirty Tyrants. Historians are divided as to their number, names, and pretensions; it only appears, in the ill-digested accounts of these times, that they were not at all contemporary, but succeeded each other whenever they found an opportunity of asserting their pretensions. It will be needless to dilate upon accounts and characters, that have nothing very remarkable to keep them from oblivion; the names of these short lived pretenders will suffice. In the East, Macrianus, and his two sons, III. Valens, IV. Piso, V. In Illyricum, Aureolus, VI. In Palmira, Œdenatus, VII. Herod, VIII. Balista, IX. Mæonias, X. Zenobia, and her two sons, XIII. In Egypt, Æmilian, XIV. In Africa, Celsus, XV. In Pannonia, Regillianus, XVI. Ingenuus, XVII. Censorinus, XVIII. Trebellianus, XIX. In Gaul, Posthumus, XX. Victorinus, XXI. Posthumus Junior, XXII. Lollianus, XXIII. Victoria, XXIV. Victorinus Junior, XXV. Tetrius, XXVI. Tetrius Junior, XXVII. Cyriades, XXVIII. Saturninus, XXIX. Marius, XXX.

It my be easily supposed, that a state, harassed by such a number of opposing interests

and inimical armies, was in the most dreadful situation; and accordingly we find, through all parts of the empire, nothing but rapine, murder, and desolation; the government, like a mighty ruin, dropping by piece-meal on the heads of those it was originally raised to protect, and threatening every moment universal destruction. In this general calamity, Galienus, though at first seeming insensible, was, at length, obliged, for his own private security, to take the field, and lead an army to besiege the city of Milan, which had been taken by one of the thirty usurping tyrants. It was there he was slain by his own soldiers, Martian, one of his generals, having conspired against him.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Claudius, the Thirty-fourth Emperor.

THE death of Galienus proved very advantageous to the empire, and gave a general satisfaction to all, except his soldiers, who hoped to reap the reward of their treachery by the plunder of Milan. But being frustrated in these expectations, and, in some mea-

U. C. 1021. A. D. 268.

sure, kept within bounds by the largesses of Martian, Flavius Claudius being nominated to succeed, was joyfully accepted by all orders of the state, and his title confirmed by the senate and the people.

We are not sufficiently assured of this emperor's lineage and country. Some affirm that he was born in Dalmatia, and descended from an ancient family there; others assert, that he was a Trojan; and others, still, that he was son to the emperor Gordian. But, whatever might have been his descent, his merits were by no means doubtful. He was a man of great valour and conduct, having performed the most excellent services against the Goths, who had long continued to make their irruptions into the empire. He was now about fifty-five years old, equally remarkable for the strength of his body and the vigour of his mind; he was chaste and temperate, a rewarder of the good, and a severe punisher of such as transgressed the laws. Thus endowed, therefore, he, in some measure, put a stop to the precipitate decline of the empire, and once more seemed to restore the glory of Rome.

His first success, upon being made emperor, was against Aureolus, an usurper of the empire, whom he defeated near Milan. His next expedition was to oppose the Goths, against whom he led a very numerous army. These barbarians had made their principal and most successful irruptions into Thrace and Macedonia,

swarmed over all Greece, and had pillaged the famous city of Athens, which had long been the school of all the polite arts to the Romans. The Goths, however, had no veneration for those embellishments that tend to soften and humanize the mind, but destroyed all monuments of taste and learning with the most savage alacrity. It was upon one of these occasions, that having heaped together a large pile of books, in order to burn them, one of their commanders dissuaded them from the design, alleging, that the time which the Grecians should waste on books, would only render them more unqualified for war. But the empire seemed to tremble not only on that side, but almost on every quarter. At the same time, above three hundred thousand of these barbarians (the Heruli, the Trutangi, the Virturgi, and many nameless and uncivilized nations) came down the river Danube, with two thousand ships, fraught with men and ammunition, spreading terror and devastation on every side.

In this state of universal dismay, Claudius, alone, seemed to continue unshaken. He marched his disproportioned army against the savage invaders, and, though but ill prepared for engaging with them, as the forces of the empire were then employed in different parts of the world, he came off victorious, and made an incredible slaughter of the enemy. The whole of their great army was either cut to pieces or taken prisoners; houses were filled with their arms,

and scarce a province of the empire, that was not furnished with slaves from those that survived the defeat.

These successes were followed by many others in different parts of the empire; so that the Goths, for a considerable time after, made but a feeble opposition.

He some time after marched against the revolted Germans, and overthrew them with considerable slaughter. His last expedition was to oppose Tetricus and Zenobia, his two puissant rivals in the empire. But on his march, as he approached near the city Sirmium, in Pannonia, he was seized with a pestilential fever, of which he died in a few days, to the great regret of his subjects, and the irreparable loss of the Roman empire. His reign, which was not of quite two years' continuance, was active and successful: and such is the character given of him by historians, that he is said to have united in himself the moderation of Augustus, the valour of Trajan, and the piety of Antoninus.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

Aurelian, the Thirty-fifth Emperor.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Claudius, the army made unanimous choice of Aurelian, who was at that time master of the horse, and esteemed the most valiant commander of his time. However, his promotion was not without opposition on the part of the senate, as Quintillus, the brother of the deceased emperor, put in his claim, and was, for a while, acknowledged at Rome. But his authority was of very short duration; for finding himself abandoned by those who at first instigated him to declare for the throne, he chose to prevent the severity of his rival by a voluntary death; and causing his veins to be opened, expired, after having reigned but seventeen days.

U. C. 1023.
A. D. 270.

Aurelian being thus universally acknowledged by all the states of the empire, assumed the command, with a greater share of power than his predecessors had enjoyed for some time before. This active monarch was born of mean and obscure parentage in Dacia, and was about fifty-five years old at the time of his coming to the throne. He had spent the early part of his

life in the army, and had risen through all the gradations of military duty. He was of unshaken courage and amazing strength; he, in one single engagement, killed forty of the enemy with his own hand, and above nine hundred at several different times. In short, his valour and expedition were such, that he was compared to Julius Cæsar, and, in fact, only wanted mildness and clemency to be every way his equal.

The whole of this enterprising monarch's reign was spent in repressing the irruptions of the northern nations, in humbling every other pretender to the empire, and punishing the monstrous irregularities of his own subjects. He defeated the Marcomanni, a fierce and terrible nation of Germany, that had invaded Italy, in three several engagements, and at length totally destroyed their whole army. He was not less successful against Zenobia, the queen of the East, a woman of the most heroic qualifications, who had long disclaimed the Roman power, and established an empire of her own. To oppose this extraordinary woman, Aurelian passed his army over into Asia, and suppressing all the obstructions that were opposed against him, he at length sat down before Tyana, a city of Cappadocia, which seemed resolved to hold out against him, and actually for some time, stopped his progress. The unexpected obstinacy of the besieged served not a little to enrage the emperor, who was naturally precipitate and furious. He vowed, that upon taking the city, he would so punish

the inhabitants, as not to leave a dog alive among them. After some time the city was taken; and when his whole army expected the plunder of so wealthy a place, and put him in mind of his former protestations, he restrained their impetuosity, and only ordered all the dogs in the place to be destroyed. He afterwards pretended that he was restrained from satiating his resentment on the inhabitants, by an apparition of the famous Apollonius, that warned him not to destroy his birth-place. This excuse was no doubt fictitious; but we can easily pardon falsehood, when it is brought to the asistance of humanity..

From Tyana he marched to meet the enemy, who waited his approach, near the city of Emesa in Syria. Both armies were very powerful and numerous; the one trained up under the most valiant leader of his time; the other led on by a woman that seemed born to control the pride of man. The battle was long and obstinate; victory at one time leaned to the side of the Asiatics; but the perseverance of Aurelian's generals, at last, carried the day. The enemy was defeated, and Zenobia was obliged to fly to Palmyra for safety. But she was soon pursued thither by the conqueror, who did all in his power to induce her to submission; but the haughty queen refused his proffered terms of life and security with scorn, relying on the succours which she expected from the Persians, the Saracens, and the Armenians. However,

Aurelian's diligence surmounted every obstacle; he intercepted the Persian auxiliaries and dispersed them; the Saracens shared the same fate; and the Armenians were, by plausible promises, led over to espouse his interests. Thus Zenobia, deceived in her expected succours, and despairing of relief, attempted to fly into Persia; but was taken by a chosen body of horse sent to pursue her. The city of Palmyra likewise submitted to the conqueror; and Longinus, the celebrated critic and secretary to the queen, was by Aurelian's order put to death. Zenobia was reserved to grace his triumph, and was afterwards allotted such lands and such an income, as served to maintain her in almost her former splendour.

Aurelian having thus restored peace to the empire, endeavoured, by the rigours of juctice, to bring back virtue also. He was very strict in punishing the crimes of the soldiery; and in his orders to his lieutenants, insisted that the peasants should not be plundered upon any pretence; that not even a grape, a grain of salt, or a drop of oil, should be exacted unjustly.

He caused a soldier, who had committed adultery with his hostess, to have his feet tied to two trees, forcibly bent at top to meet each other; which being let loose, and suddenly recoiling, tore the criminal in two. This was a severity that might take the name of cruelty; but the vices of the times, in some measure, required it. In these punishments inflicted on the guilty,

the Christians, who had all along been growing more numerous, were sharers. Against these he drew up several letters and edicts, which showed that he intended a very severe persecution; but, if we may believe the credulous historians of the times, he was deterred just as he was going to sign, by a thunderbolt, which fell so near his person, that all people judged him destroyed.

But, however Heaven might have interposed on this occasion, it is certain, that his severities at last were the cause of his destruction. Menesthus, his principal secretary, having been threatened by him for some fault which he had committed, began to consider how he might prevent the meditated blow. For this purpose he forged a roll of the names of several persons, whom he pretended the emperor had marked out for death, adding his own to strengthen him in the confidence of the party. The scroll thus contrived, was shown with an air of the utmost secrecy to some of the persons concerned; and they, to procure their safety, immediately agreed with him to destroy the emperor. This resolution was soon put into execution; for as the emperor passed, with a small guard, from Uraclea, in Thrace, towards Byzantium, the conspirators set upon him at once, and slew him with very small resistance. He was slain in the sixtieth, or, as some say, the sixty-third year of his age, after a very active reign of almost five years.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Tacitus, the Thirty-sixth Emperor.

U. C. 1028. A. D. 275. THE number of pretenders to the throne, which had formerly infested the empire, were, by the last monarch's activity, so entirely removed, that there now seemed to be none that would even venture to declare himself a candidate. The army referred the choice to the senate; and on the other side, the senate declined it; so that a space of near eight months elapsed in these interchanges of mutual deference. At length, however, the senate made choice of Tacitus, a man of great merit, and no way ambitious of the honours that were offered him. Upon being solicited to accept the empire, he at first refused, and retired to his country-house in Campania, to avoid their importunities; but being at length prevailed upon, he accepted the reins of government, being at that time seventy-five years old.

One of the first acts of the government, was to punish those who had conspired against the late emperor; particularly Menesthus, who was impaled alive, his body being thrown to be devoured by wild beasts. His estate also was con-

fiscated to the exchequer; and his ready money, which was considerable, applied towards paying the army. During this short reign, the senate seemed to have a large share of authority, and the historians of the times are one and all liberal of their praises to such emperors as were thus willing to divide their power. Upon endeavouring to obtain the consulship for his brother Probus, he was refused it by the senate; at which he seemed no way moved, but calmly remarked that the senate best knew whom to choose. This moderation prevailed in all the rest of his conduct: he was extremely temperate; his table was plain, and furnished with nothing expensive; he even prohibited his empress from wearing jewels, and forbade the use of gold and embroidery. He was fond of learning, and the memory of such men as had deserved well of their country; particularly the works of his name-sake, Tacitus, the historian, were greatly honoured by him. He commanded that they should be placed in every public library throughout the empire, and that many copies of them should be transcribed at the public charge.

A reign begun with such moderation and justice, only wanted continuance, to have made the empire happy; but after enjoying the empire about six months, he died of a fever, in his march to oppose the Persians and Scythians, who had invaded the eastern parts of the empire.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Probus, the Thirty-seventh Emperor.

Upon the death of Tacitus, the army seemed divided in the choice of an emperor; one part of it chose Florian, brother to the deceased; but the majority were for some time undetermined. They alleged, in their conferences with each other, the necessity of choosing one eminent for valour, honesty, piety, clemency, and probity; but the last virtue being that chiefly insisted upon, the whole army, as if by common consent, cried out that Probus should be emperor. He was accordingly confirmed in this dignity, with all the usual solemnities; and Florian, his opponent, finding himself deserted, even by those legions who had promised to stand up in his support, opened his arteries and bled to death.

Probus was forty-four years old when he ascended the throne, being born of noble parentage at Sirmium in Pannonia, and bred up a soldier from his youth. He began early to distinguish himself for his discipline and valour; being frequently the first man that, in besieging towns, scaled the walls, or that burst into the enemy's camp. He was equally remarkable for single combats, and saving the lives of many eminent

citizens. Nor were his activity and courage, when elected to the empire, less apparent than in his private station. Every year now produced only new calamities to the empire; and fresh irruptions on every side threatened universal desolation: perhaps at this time, no abilities except those of Probus were capable of opposing such united invasions. He flew with an army to repress the Germans in Gaul, of whom he slew four hundred thousand. He then marched into Dalmatia, to oppose and subdue the Sarmatians. From thence he led his forces into Thrace, and forced the Goths to sue for peace. He after that, turned his arms towards Asia, subdued the province of Isauria; and, marching onward, conquered a people called the Blemii; who, leaving their native forests of Æthiopia, had possessed themselves of Arabia and Judea. Narsius also, the king of Persia, submitted at his approach; and upon his return into Europe, he divided the depopulated parts of Thrace among its barbarous invaders: a circumstance that afterwards produced great calamities in the empire. His diligence was not less conspicuous in suppressing intestine commotions. Saturnius, being compelled by the Egyptians to declare himself emperor, was defeated and slain. Proculus also, a person remarkable only for his great attachment to women, and who boasted in a letter, that, having taken a hundred Sarmatian virgins prisoners, he deflowered ten of them in one night, and all the rest within a

fortnight; this man, I say, set up against the emperor, but was compelled to fly, and at length delivered up by the Germans. At the same time, Bonosus (who was as remarkable a votary to Bacchus, being able to drink as much wine as ten men, without being disordered) rebelled, and being overcome, hanged himself in despair. Probus, when he saw him, immediately after his death, could not avoid pointing at the body, and saying, "There hangs, not a man, but a bottle." But still, notwithstanding every effort to give quiet to the empire, the barbarians who surrounded it, kept it in continual alarms. They were frequently repulsed into their native wilds, but they as duly returned with fresh rage and increased ferocity. The Goths and Vandals, finding the emperor engaged in quelling domestic disputes, renewed their accustomed inroads, and once more felt the punishment of their presumption. They were conquered in several engagements, and Probus returned in triumph to Rome. His active temper, however, would not suffer him to continue at rest while any of the enemy were left to conquer. In his last expedition, he led his soldiers against the Persians; and going through Sirmium, the place of his nativity, he there set several thousands of his soldiers upon draining a sea that was incommodious to the inhabitants. The fatigues of this undertaking and the great restraint that was laid upon the licentious manners of the soldiers, produced a conspiracy, which ended in his ruin.

The soldiers taking their opportunity, as he was marching into Greece, set upon, and slew him, after he had reigned six years and four months, with general approbation. As an instance of the esteem which even his rebellious army had for him, they erected him a sumptuous monument with this epitaph—"Here lies the emperor Probus, truly deserving the name; a subduer of barbarians, and a conqueror of usurpers."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Carus, and his two Sons, Carinus and Numerian, making together the Thirty-eighth Emperor.

The short continuance of this triumvi- U.C.
rate has given historians but little room 1035.
for any thing very material concerning it. A. D.
Carus, who was prætorian præfect to the 282.
deceased emperor, was chosen by the army to succeed him; and he, to strengthen his authority, united his two sons, Carinus and Numerian, with him in command; the former of whom was as much sullied by his vices, as the younger was remarkable for his virtues, modesty, and courage. The new emperor had scarce time to punish the murderers of the late monarch,

when he was alarmed by a fresh irruption of the Sarmatians, over whom he gained a signal victory. The Persian monarch also made some attempts upon the empire: but Carus assured his ambassadors, that if their master persisted in his obstinacy, all his fields should shortly be as bare as his own bald head, which he showed them. In consequence of this threat, he marched to the very walls of Ctesiphon, and a dreadful battle ensuing, he once more gained a complete victory. What the result of this success might have been, is not known, for he was shortly after struck dead by lightning in his tent, with many others that were round him.

Numerian, the youngest son, who accompanied his father in this expedition, was inconsolable for his death, and brought such a disorder upon his eyes, with weeping, that he was obliged to be carried along with the army, shut up in a close litter. The peculiarity of his situation, after some time, excited the ambition of Aper, his father-in-law, who supposed that he could now, without any great danger, aim at the empire himself. He, therefore, hired a mercenary villain to murder the emperor in his litter; and, the better to conceal the fact, gave out that he was still alive, but unable to endure the light. In this manner was the dead body carried about for some days, Aper continuing to attend it with the utmost appearance of respect, and seeming to take orders as usual. The offensiveness, however, of its smell, at length,

discovered the treachery, and excited an universal uproar throughout the whole army. In the midst of this tumult Dioclesian, one of the most noted commanders of his time, was chosen emperor, and with his own hand slew Aper; having thus, as it is said, fulfilled a prophecy, which had said, that Dioclesian should be emperor after he had slain a boar.

Carinus, the remaining son, did not long survive his father and brother; for giving himself up to his vices, and yet, at the same time, opposing the new-made emperor, the competitors led their forces into Mæsia, where Dioclesian being victorious, Carinus was slain by a tribune of his own army, whose wife he had formerly abused.

CHAPTER XL.

Dioclesian, the Thirty-ninth Emperor.

DIOCLESIAN was a person of mean birth; being supposed to be, according to some, the son of a scrivener; and of a slave, according to others. He received his name from Dioclea, the town in which he was born,

U. C. 1037.
A. D. 284.

being about forty years old when he was elected to the empire. He owed his exaltation entirely to his merit; having passed through all the gradations of office with sagacity, courage, and success. Nor did the beginning of his reign in the least deceive the expectations his subjects had formed in his favour. He pardoned all his enemies that had joined with Carinus, without injuring either their fortunes or honours. Conscious also that the weight of the empire was too heavy for one alone to sustain, he took in Maximian, his general, as a partner in the fatigues of duty, making him his equal and companion on the throne. Thus mutually assisting each other, these two continued to live in strict friendship; and, though somewhat differing in temper (as Maximian was rather a man of vicious inclinations), yet they concurred in promoting the general good, and humbling their enemies. And it must be observed, that there never was a period, in which there were more numerous or formidable enemies to oppose.

The peasants and labourers in Gaul made a dangerous insurrection, under the conduct of Amandus and Helianus, but were subdued by Maximian. Achilleus, who commanded in Egypt, proclaimed himself emperor; and it was not without many bloody engagements that he was overcome, and condemned by Dioclesian to be devoured by lions. In Africa, the Roman legions, in like manner, joining with many of the natives, seized upon the public revenues,

and plundered those who continued in their duty. These were also subdued by Maximian; and, after a long dubious war, constrained to sue for peace. About the same time, a principal commander in Britain, named Carausius, proclaimed himself emperor, and possessed himself of the island. To oppose this general's claim, Maximian made choice of Constantius Chlorus, whom he created Cæsar, and married to Theodora, his daughter-in-law. He, upon his arrival in Britain, finding Carausius extremely polite, and continually reinforced from Germany, thought proper to come to an accommodation; so that this usurper continued for seven years in quiet possession of the whole island, till he was slain by Alectus, his friend and intimate. About this time also, Narseus, king of Persia and Parthia, began a dangerous war upon the empire, and invaded Mesopotamia. To stop the progress of the enemy upon this quarter, Dioclesian made choice of Galerius, surnamed Armentarius, from the report of his being the son of a cowherd, in Dacia; and he likewise was created Cæsar. His success also, though very doubtful in the beginning, was, in the end, terminated according to his wishes. The Persians were overcome in a decisive engagement, their camp plundered and taken, and the king's wives and children made prisoners of war. There only remained, of all the enemies of the Roman empire, those that lay to the northward unsubdued. These

were utterly unconquerable, as well upon account of their savage fierceness, as the inhospitable severity of the climate and soil from whence they went forth. Ever at war with the Romans, they issued when the armies that were to repress their invasions were called away; and upon their return, they as suddenly withdrew into their cold, barren, and inaccessible retreats, which only themselves could endure. In this manner, the Scythians, Goths, Sarmatians, Alani, Carsii, and Quadi, poured down in incredible numbers; while every defeat seemed but to increase their strength and perseverance. Of these, multitudes were taken prisoners, and sent to people the more southern parts of the empire: still greater numbers were destroyed; and, though the rest were driven back to their native forests, yet they continued ever mindful of their inveterate enmity, and, like a savage beast, only continued inactive, till they had licked their wounds, for a new encounter.

During this interval, as if the external miseries of the empire were not sufficient, the tenth and last great persecution was renewed against the Christians. This is said to have exceeded all the former in severity; and such was the zeal with which it was pursued, that in an ancient inscription, we are informed, that the government had effaced the name and superstition of the Christians, and had restored and propagated the worship of the gods. Their at-

tempts, however, were but the malicious efforts of an expiring party; for Christianity shortly after was established by law, and triumphed over the malice of all its enemies. In the midst of the troubles raised by this persecution, and of the contests that struck at the external parts of the state, Dioclesian and Maximian surprised the world by resigning their dignities on the same day, and both retiring into private stations. Historians are much divided concerning the motives that thus induced them to give up those honours which they had purchased with so much danger. Some ascribe it to the philosophical turn of Dioclesian; and others, to his being disgusted with the obstinacy of his Christian subjects; but Lactantius asserts, that he was compelled to it, together with his partner, by Galerius, who coming to Nicomedia, upon the emperor's recovery from a great sickness, threatened him with a civil war in case he refused to resign. However, of this we are well assured, that he still preserved a dignity of sentiment in his retirement, that might induce us to believe he had no other motive but virtue for his resignation. Having retired to his birth-place, he spent his time in cultivating his garden, assuring his visitors that then only he began to enjoy the world, when he was thought by the rest of mankind to have forsaken it. When also some attempted to persuade him to resume the empire, he replied, "That if they knew his present hap-
"piness, they would rather endeavour to imitate

"than disturb it." In this contented manner he lived some time, and at last died either by poison or madness; but this is uncertain. His reign, which continued twenty years, was active and useful; and his authority, which was tinctured with severity, was well adapted to the depraved state of morals at that time.

Maximian, his partner in the empire, and in resignation, was by no means so contented with his situation. He longed once more for power, and disturbed the two succeeding reigns with vain efforts to resume it; attempting to engage Dioclesian in the same design. Being obliged to leave Rome, where he had bred great confusion, he went over into Gaul, where he was kindly received by Constantine, the then acknowledged emperor of the West. But there also continuing his intrigues, and endeavouring to force his own daughter to destroy her husband, he was detected and condemned to die, by whatever death he should think proper. Lactantius tells us, he chose to die by hanging.

CHAPTER XLI.

Constantius and Galerius, making together the Fortieth Emperor.

UPON the resignation of the two emperors, the two Cæsars whom they had formerly chosen were universally acknowledged as their successors. Constantius Chlorus, who was so called from the paleness of his complexion, was virtuous, valiant, and merciful. Galerius, on the other hand, was brave; but brutal, incontinent, and cruel. As there was such a disparity in their tempers, they readily agreed, upon coming into full power, to divide the empire; Constantius being appointed to govern the western parts; namely, Italy, Sicily, the greatest part of Afric, together with Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Germany; while Galerius had the eastern parts allotted to his share; to wit, Illyricum, Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia, all the provinces of Greece, and the Lesser Asia, together with Egypt, Syria, Judea, and all the countries eastward. The greatness of the task, however, soon induced the emperors to take in two partners more, Severus and Maximin, who were made Cæsars, and assisted in conducting affairs; so that the empire now was under t'

U. C. 1057. A. D. 304.

guidance of four persons, all invested with supreme authority.

We are informed of but few particulars of the reign of Constantius, except a detail of his character, which appears, in every light, most amiable. He was frugal, chaste, and temperate. Being one day reproached by Dioclesian's ambassadors for his poverty, he only intimated his wants to the people, and in a few hours the sums presented him amazed the beholders, and exceeded their highest expectations. "Learn from "hence," said he, then, to the ambassadors, "that the love of the people is the richest "treasure; and that a prince's wealth is never so "safe as when his people are the guardians of his "exchequer." His mercy and justice were equally conspicuous in his treatment of the Christians, whom he would not suffer to be injured; and when, at length, he was persuaded to displace all the Christian officers of his household that would not change their religion, he sent the few that complied, away in disgrace; alleging, that those who were not true to their God, would never be faithful to their prince.

In the second year of his reign, he went over into Britain, and leaving his son Constantine as a kind of hostage in the court of his partner in the empire, he took up his residence at York. He there continued in the practice of his usual virtues, till falling sick, he began to think of appointing his son for his succcessor. He accordingly sent for him with all speed; but he was

past recovery before his arrival; notwithstanding, he received him with marks of the utmost affection, and raising himself in his bed, gave him several useful instructions, particularly recommending the Christians to his protection. He then bequeathed the empire to his care, and crying out, that none but the pious Constantine should succeed him, he expired in his arms.

In the mean time, Galerius, his partner in the empire, being informed of Constantine's advancement, testified the most ungovernable rage, and was even going to condemn the messenger who brought him the account; but being dissuaded, he seemed to acquiesce in what he could not prevent, and sent him the marks of royalty; but, at the same time, declared Severus emperor, in opposition to his interests.

Just about this time also another pretender to the empire started up. This was Maxentius, a person of mean extraction, but very much favoured by the soldiers, whom he permitted to pillage at discretion. Thus there were several interests at the same time in opposition to each other, and all conspiring each other's downfall.

In order to oppose Maxentius, Severus led a numerous army towards the gates of Rome; but his soldiers considering against whom they were to fight, immediately abandoned him; and shortly after, he put an end to his own life by opening his veins.

To revenge his death, Galerius marched into Italy, resolving to ruin the inhabitants, and to

destroy the whole senate. His soldiers, however, upon their approach to the capital, began to waver in their resolutions; wherefore, he was obliged to have recourse to entreaties, imploring them not to abandon him; and retiring by the same route by which he had advanced, he made Licinius, who was originally the son of a poor labourer in Dacia, Cæsar, in the room of Severus, who was slain. This seemed to be the last act of his power; for shortly after he was seized with a very extraordinary disorder in his privities, which baffled all the skill of his physicians, and carried him off, after he had languished in torments for near the space of a year.

His cruelty to the Christians was one of the many crimes alleged against him; and their historians have not failed to aggravate the circumstances of his death as a judgment from Heaven for his former impiety. However this be, he abated much of his severities against them on his death-bed, and revoked those edicts which he had formerly published, tending to their persecution, a little before his death.

CHAPTTR XLII.

Constantine the Great, Forty-first Emperor.

Constantine being thus delivered from U. C.
his greatest opponent, might now be 1064.
considered as possessing more power than A. D.
any of his rivals in authority, who were 311.
yet remaining. The empire was at that time divided between him and three others: Maxentius, who governed in Rome; a person of a cruel disposition, and a stedfast supporter of paganism: Licinius, who was adopted by Galerius, and commanded in the East: and likewise Maximin, who had formerly been declared Cæsar with Severus, and who also governed some of the eastern provinces.

Whether the empire was by this time sick of its intestine divisions, or whether each of its commanders was content with his share, is not material to inquire; but, for a time, all things seemed to wear a peaceful appearance; till, at length, either ambition, or the tyrannical conduct of Maxentius, induced Constantine to engage in an expedition to expel that commander from Rome, and to make the proper preparations for marching into Italy. It was upon this occasion that he formed a resolution which pro-

duced a great change in the politics, as well as the morals, of mankind; and gave a new turn to the counsels of the wise, and the pursuits of ambition. One evening, as we are told by Eusebius, the army being upon its march towards Rome, Constantine was taken up with various considerations upon the fate of sublunary things, and the dangers of his approaching expedition: sensible of his own incapacity to succeed without Divine assistance, he employed his meditations upon the opinions that then were chiefly agitated among mankind, and sent up his ejaculations to Heaven to inspire him with wisdom to choose the path to pursue. It was then, as the sun was declining, that there suddenly appeared a pillar of light in the heavens, in the fashion of a cross, with this inscription, ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ, *In this overcome.* So extraordinary an appearance did not fail to create astonishment, both in the emperor and his whole army, who considered it as their various dispositions led them to believe. Those who were attached to paganism, prompted by their auspices, pronounced it to be a most inauspicious omen, portending the most unfortunate events: but it made a different impression on the emperor's mind; who, as the account goes, was further encouraged by visions the same night. He therefore, the day following, caused a royal standard to be made, like that which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded it to be carried before him in his wars, as an ensign of victory

and celestial protection. After this, he consulted with several of the principal teachers of Christianity, and made a public avowal of that sacred persuasion.

Constantine having thus attached his soldiers to his interest, who were mostly of the Christian persuasion, lost no time in entering Italy, with ninety thousand foot and eight thousand horse, and soon advanced almost to the very gates of Rome. The unfortunate Maxentius, who had long given himself up to ease and debauchery, now began to make preparations, when it was too late. He first put in practice all the superstitious rites which paganism taught were necessary; he next consulted the Sibylline books, from whence he was informed, that on that great day, the enemy of Rome should perish. This prediction, which was equivocal, he applied to Constantine, wherefore, leaving all things in the best posture, he advanced from the city, with an army of a hundred and seventy thousand foot and eighteen thousand horse. The engagement was, for some time, fierce and bloody, till his cavalry being routed, victory declared upon the side of his opponent, and he himself was drowned in his flight, by the breaking down of a bridge, as he attempted to cross the river Tiber.

Constantine, in consequence of this victory, entering the city, disclaimed all praises which the senate and people were ready to offer; ascribing his success to a superior power. He even

caused the cross, which he was said to have seen in the heavens, to be placed at the right of all his statues with this inscription: "That under "the influence of that victorious cross, Con-"stantine had delivered the city from the yoke "of tyrannical power, and had restored the "senate and people of Rome to their ancient "authority." He afterwards ordained that no criminal should, for the future, suffer death by the cross, which had formerly been the most usual way of punishing slaves convicted of capital offences. Edicts were soon after issued, declaring that the Christians should be eased from all their grievances, and received into places of trust and authority. Thus the new religion was seen at once to prevail over the whole Roman empire; and as that enormous fabric had been built and guided upon pagan principles, it lost a great deal of its strength and coherence, when those principles were thus at once subverted.

Things continued in this state for some time, Constantine, all the while, contributing what was in his power to the interests of religion, and the revival of learning, which had long been upon the decline, and was almost wholly extinct in the empire. But in the midst of these assiduities, the peace of the empire was again disturbed by the preparations of Maximin, who governed in the East; and who, desirous of a full participation of power, marched against Licinius, with a very numerous army.

In consequence of this step, after many conflicts a general engagement ensued, in which Maximin suffered a total defeat; many of his troops were cut to pieces, and those that survived submitted to the conqueror. Maximin, however, having escaped the general carnage, once more put himself at the head of another army, resolving to try the fortune of the field; but his death prevented the design. As he died by a very extraordinary kind of madness, the Christians, of whom he was the declared enemy, did not fail to ascribe his end to a judgment from Heaven; but this was the age in which false judgments and false miracles made up the bulk of uninstructed history.

Constantine and Licinius thus remaining undisputed possessors and partners in the empire, all things promised a peaceable continuance of friendship and power. However, it was soon found that the same ambition that aimed after a part, would be content with nothing less than the whole. Pagan writers ascribe the rupture between these two potentates to Constantine; while the Christians, on the other hand, impute it wholly to Licinius. Both, perhaps, might have concurred; for Licinius is convicted of having persecuted Christianity, which was so highly favoured by his rival; and Constantine is known to have been the first to begin the preparations for an open rupture. Both sides exerted all their power to make opposition; and at the head of very

formidable armies, came to an engagement near Cybalis, in Pannonia. Constantine previous to the battle, in the midst of his Christian bishops, begged the assistance of Heaven; while Licinius, with equal zeal, called upon the pagan priests to intercede with the gods in his favour. The success was on the side of truth; Constantine, after an obstinate resistance, became victorious; took the enemy's camp; and, after some time, compelled Licinius to sue for a truce, which was agreed upon. But this was of no long continuance; for soon after the war breaking out afresh, and the rivals coming once more to a general engagement, it proved decisive. Licinius was entirely defeated, and pursued by Constantine into Nicomedia, where he surrendered himself up to the victor; having first obtained an oath that his life should be spared, and that he should be permitted to pass the remainder of his days in retirement. This, however, Constantine shortly after broke; for, either fearing his designs, or finding him actually engaged in fresh conspiracies, he commanded him to be put to death, together with Martian, his general, who some time before had been created Cæsar.

Constantine being now sole monarch of the empire, without a rival to divide his power, or any person from whose claims he could have the least apprehensions, resolved to establish Christianity on so sure a basis, that no new revolutions should shake it. He commanded that

in all the provinces of the empire the orders of the bishops should be exactly obeyed; a privilege of which, in succeeding times, these fathers made but a very indifferent use. He called also a general council of these, in order to repress the heresies that had already crept into the church, particularly that of Arius. To this place repaired about three hundred and eighteen bishops, besides a multitude of presbyters and deacons, together with the emperor himself; who all, except about seventeen, concurred in condemning the tenets of Arius; and this heresiarch, with his associates, was banished into a remote part of the empire.

Having thus restored universal tranquillity to the empire, he was not able to ward off the calamities of a more domestic nature. As the wretched histories of this period are entirely at variance with each other, it is not easy to tell the motives which induced him to put his wife Fausta and his son Crispus to death. The most plausible account is this. Fausta, the empress, who was a woman of great beauty but of extravagant desires, had long, though secretly, loved Crispus, Constantine's son by a former wife. She had tried every art to inspire this youth with a mutual passion; and finding her more distant efforts ineffectual, had even the confidence to make him an open confession of her desires. This produced an explanation, which was fatal to both. Crispus received her addresses with detestation; and she, to be re-

venged, accused him to the emperor. Constantine, fired at once with jealousy and rage, ordered him to die without a hearing, nor did his innocence appear till it was too late for redress. The only reparation therefore that remained, was the putting Fausta, the wicked instrument of his former cruelty, to death; which was accordingly executed upon her, together with some others, who had been accomplices in her falsehood and treachery.

But the private misfortunes of a few, were not to be weighed against evils of a more general nature, which the Roman empire shortly after experienced. These arose from a measure which this emperor conceived and executed, of transferring the seat of the empire from Rome, to Byzantium, or Constantinople, as it was afterwards called. Whatever might have been the reasons which induced him to this undertaking; whether it was because he was offended at some affronts he had received at Rome, or that he supposed Constantinople more in the centre of the empire; or that he thought the eastern parts more required his presence; experience has shown that they were all weak and groundless. The empire had long before been in a most declining state; but this, in a great measure, gave precipitation to its downfall. After this, it never resumed its former splendour, but like a flower transplanted into a foreign clime, languished by degrees, and at length sunk into nothing.

His first design was to build a city, which he might make the capital of the world; and for this purpose, he made choice of a situation at Chalcedon in Asia Minor; but we are told, that in laying out the ground-plan, an eagle caught the line, and flew with it over to Byzantium, a city which lay upon the opposite side of the Bosphorus. Here, therefore, it was thought expedient to fix the seat of empire; and, indeed, nature seemed to have formed it with all the conveniences, and all the beauties, which might induce power to make it the seat of residence. It was situated on a plain, that rose gently from the water: it commanded that strait which unites the Mediterranean with the Euxine sea, and was furnished with all the advantages which the most indulgent climate could bestow. This city, therefore,
he beautified with the most magnificent U. C.
edifices; he divided it into fourteen re- 1081.
gions; built a capitol, an amphitheatre, A. D.
many churches, and other public works; 328.
and, having thus rendered it equal to the magnificence of his idea, he dedicated it in a very solemn manner, to the God of martyrs; and, in about two years after, repaired thither with his whole court.

This removal produced no immediate alteration in the government of the empire: the inhabitants of Rome, though with reluctance, submitted to the change; nor was there for two or three years any disturbance in the state, until, at

length, the Goths finding that the Romans had withdrawn all their garrisons along the Danube, renewed their inroads, and ravaged the country with unheard-of cruelty. Constantine, however, soon repressed their incursions, and so straitened them, that near a hundred thousand of their number perished by the cold and hunger. These and some other insurrections, being happily suppressed, the government of the empire was divided as follows: Constantine, the emperor's eldest son, commanded in Gaul and the western provinces; Constantius, his second, governed Afric and Illyricum; and Constans the youngest, ruled in Italy. Dalmatius, the emperor's brother, was sent to defend those parts that bordered upon the Goths; and Annibalianus, his nephew, had the charge of Cappadocia and Armenia Minor. This division of the empire still farther contributed to its downfall; for the united strength of the state being no longer brought to repress invasion, the barbarians fought with superior numbers, and conquered at last, though often defeated. Constantine, however, did not live to feel these calamities. The latter part of his reign was peaceful and splendid: ambassadors from the remotest Indies came to acknowledge his authority; the Persians, who were ready for fresh inroads, upon finding him prepared to oppose, sent humbly to desire his friendship and forgiveness. He was above sixty years old, and had reigned above thirty, when he found his health began to decline. To obviate the

effects of his disorder, which was an intermitting fever, he made use of the warm baths of the city; but receiving no benefit from them, he removed, for change of air, to Helenopolis, a city which he had built to the memory of his mother. His disorder increasing, he changed again to Nicomedia; where finding himself without hopes of a recovery, he caused himself to be baptized; and, having soon after received the sacrament, he expired after a memorable and active reign of almost thirty-two years. This monarch's character is represented to us in very different lights; the Christian writers of that time adorning it with every strain of panegyric; the heathens, on the contrary, loading it with all the virulence of invective. In fact, it seems to be composed of a mixture of virtues and vices, of piety and credulity, of courage and cruelty, of justice and ambition. He established a religion that continues the blessing of mankind, but pursued a scheme of politics that destroyed the empire.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Of the Destruction of the Roman Empire, after the Death of Constantine, and the Events which hastened its Catastrophe.

HITHERTO the characters of the Roman emperors, have been intimately connected with the history of the state; and its rise or decline might have been said to depend on the virtues and vices, the wisdom or the indolence, of those who governed it. But from this dreary period its recovery was become desperate; no wisdom could obviate its decadence, no courage oppose the evils that surrounded it on every side. Instead, therefore, of entering into a minute account of the characters of its succeeding emperors, it will at present suffice to take a general survey of this part of the history, and rather describe the causes by which the state was brought down to nothing, than the persons who neither could hasten nor prevent its decline. Indeed, if we were to enter into a detail concerning the characters of the princes of those times, it should be those of the conquerors, not the conquered; of those Gothic chiefs who led a more virtuous and more courageous people to the conquest of nations corrupted by vice and enervated by luxury.

These barbarians were at first unknown to the Romans, and for some time after had been only incommodious to them. But they were now become formidable, and arose in such numbers, that the earth seemed to produce a new race of mankind, to complete the empire's destruction. They had been increasing in their hideous deserts, amidst regions frightful with eternal snows, and had long only waited the opportunity of coming down into a more favourable climate. Against such an enemy, no courage could avail, nor abilities be successful; a victory only cut off numbers without a habitation and a name, soon to be succeeded by others equally desperate and obscure.

The emperors who had to contend with this people, were most of them furnished neither with courage nor conduct to oppose. Their residence in Asia seemed to enervate their manners, and produced a desire in them to be adored like the monarchs of the East. Sunk in softness, they showed themselves with less frequency to the soldiers, they became more indolent, fonder of domestic pleasures, and more abstracted from the empire. Constantius, who reigned thirty-eight years, was weak, timid, and unsuccessful; governed by his eunuchs and his wives; and unfit to prop the falling empire. Julian, his successor, surnamed the Apostate, upon account of his relapsing into Paganism, was, notwithstanding, a very good and a very valiant prince. He, by his wisdom, conduct, and economy, chased the

barbarians, that had taken fifty towns upon the Rhine, out of their new settlements; and his name was a terror to them during his reign, which lasted but two years. Jovian and Valentinian had virtue and strength sufficient to preserve the empire from immediately falling under its enemies. No prince saw the necessity of restoring the ancient plan of the empire more than Valentinian; the former emperors had drained away all the frontier garrisons, merely to strengthen their own power at home; but his whole life was employed in fortifying the banks of the Rhine; making levies, raising castles, placing troops in proper stations, and furnishing them with subsistence for their support; but an event, that no human prudence could foresee, brought up a new enemy to assist in the universal destruction.

That tract of land which lies between the Palus Mæotis, the mountains of Caucasus and the Caspian sea, was inhabited by a numerous savage people, that went by the name of the Huns and Allanes. Their soil was fertile, and the inhabitants fond of robbery and plunder. As they imagined it impracticable to cross the Palus Mæotis, they were altogether unacquainted with the Romans, so that they remained confined within the limits their ignorance had assigned them, while other nations plundered with security. It has been the opinion of some, that the slime which was rolled down by the current of the Tanais, had, by degrees, formed a kind of

incrustation on the surface of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, over which those people are supposed to have passed. Others relate that two young Scythians, being in full pursuit of a heifer, the terrified creature swam over an arm of the sea, and the youths immediately following her, found themselves in a new world, upon an opposite shore. Upon their return, they did not fail to relate the wonders of the strange lands and countries which they had discovered. Upon their information, an innumerable body of Huns passed those straits, and meeting first with the Goths, made that people fly before them. The Goths, in consternation, presented themselves on the banks of the Danube, and, with a suppliant air, entreated the Romans to allow them a place of refuge. This they easily obtained from Valens, who assigned them several portions of land in Thrace, but left them destitute of all needful supplies. Stimulated, therefore, by hunger and resentment, they soon after rose against their protectors, and, in a dreadful engagement, which was fought near Adrianople, they destroyed Valens himself, and the greatest part of his army.

It was in this manner the Roman armies grew weaker; so that the emperors, finding it difficult, at last, to raise levies in the provinces, were obliged to hire one body of barbarians to oppose another. This expedient had its use in circumstances of immediate danger; but when that was over, the Romans found it was as dif-

ficult to rid themselves of their new allies, as of their former enemies. Thus the empire was not ruined by any particular invasion, but sunk gradually under the weight of several attacks made upon it on every side. When the barbarians had wasted one province, those who succeeded the first spoilers, proceeded on to another. Their devastations were at first limited to Thrace, Mysia, and Pannonia; but, when these countries were ruined, they destroyed Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greece; and from thence they expatriated to Noricum. The empire was in this manner continually shrinking, and Italy, at last, became the frontier of its own dominion.

The valour and conduct of Theodosius, in some measure, retarded the destruction that had begun in the times of Valens, but upon his death the enemy became irresistible. A large body of Goths had been called in to assist the regular forces of the empire, under the command of Alaric, their king; but what was brought in to stop the universal decline proved the most mortal stab to its security. This Gothic prince, who is represented as brave, impetuous, and enterprising, perceiving the weakness of the state, and how little Arcadius and Honorius, the successors of Theodosius, were able to secure it; being instigated also, still further, by the artifices of one Rufinus, who had designs upon the throne himself; this warlike prince, I say, putting himself at the head of his barbarous forces, declared war against his employers, and fought the ar-

mies of the empire for some years with various success. However, in proportion as his troops were cut off, he received new supplies from his native forests; and, at length, putting his mighty designs in execution, passed the Alps, and poured down, like a torrent, among the fruitful valleys of Italy. This charming region had long been the seat of indolence and sensual delight; its fields were now turned into gardens of pleasure, that only served to enervate the possessors, from having once been a nursery of military strength, that furnished soldiers for the conquest of mankind. The timid inhabitants therefore beheld, with terror, a dreadful enemy ravaging in the midst of their country, while their wretched emperor, Honorius, who was then in Ravenna, still only seemed resolved to keep up his dignity, and to refuse any accommodation. But the inhabitants of Rome felt the calamities of the times with double aggravation. This great city, that had long sat as the mistress of the world, now saw herself besieged by an army of fierce and terrible barbarians; and being crowded with inhabitants, it was reduced, by the extremities of pestilence and famine, to a most deplorable situation. In this extremity the senate dispatched their ambassadors to Alaric, desiring him either to grant them peace upon reasonable terms, or to give them leave to fight it with him, in the open field. To this message, however, the Gothic monarch only replied, with a burst of laughter, "That "thick grass was easier cut than thin:" implying,

that their troops, when cooped up within the narrow compass of the city, would be more easily overcome, than when drawn out in order of battle. When they came to debate about a peace, he demanded all their riches, and all their slaves. When he was asked, "What then he "would leave them;" he sternly replied, "Their "lives." These were hard conditions for such a celebrated city to accept; but, compelled by the necessity of the times, they raised an immense treasure, both by taxation and by stripping the heathen temples; and thus, at length, bought off their fierce invader. But this was but a temporary removal of the calamity; for Alaric now finding that he might become master of Rome whenever he thought proper, returned with his army a short time after; pressed it more closely than he had done before, and at last took it; but whether by force or stratagem, is not agreed
U. C. among historians. Thus, that city which
1163. for ages had plundered the rest of the
A. D. world, and enriched herself with the spoils
410. of mankind; now felt, in turn, the sad reverse of fortune, and suffered all that barbarity could inflict or patience endure. The soldiers had free liberty to pillage all places except the Christian churches; and, in the midst of this horrible desolation, so great was the reverence of these barbarians for our holy religion, that the pagan Romans found safety in applying to those of the Christian persuasion for protection. This dreadful devastation continued for three days;

and unspeakable were the precious monuments, both of art and learning, that sunk under the fury of the conquerors. However, there were still left numberless traces of the city's former greatness; so that this capture seemed rather a correction, than a total overthrow.

But the Gothic conquerors of the West, though they had suffered Rome to survive its first capture, now found how easy it was to become masters of it upon any other occasion. The extent of its walls had, in fact, made it almost impracticable for the inhabitants to defend them; and, as it was situated in a plain, it might be stormed without much difficulty. Besides this, no succours were to be expected from without; for the number of the people was so extremely diminished, that the emperors were obliged to retire to Ravenna; a place so fortified by nature, that they could be safe without the assistance of an army. What Alaric therefore, spared, Genseric, king of the Vandals, not long after contributed to destroy: his merciless soldiers, for fourteen days together, ravaged with implacable fury in the midst of that venerable place. Neither private dwellings, nor public buildings; neither sex, nor age, nor religion, were the least protection against their lust or avarice.

The capital of the empire being thus ransacked several times, and Italy overrun by barbarous invaders, under various denominations, from the remotest skirts of Europe; the western emperors, for some time, continued to hold the

title without the power of royalty. Honorius lived till he saw himself stripped of the greatest part of his dominions; his capital taken by the Goths,; the Huns seized of Pannonia; the Alans, Suevi, and Vandals, established in Spain; and the Burgundians settled in Gaul, where the Goths also fixed themselves at last. After some time, the inhabitants of Rome also, being abandoned by their princes, feebly attempted to take the supreme power into their own hands. Armorica and Britain, seeing themselves forsaken, began to regulate themselves by their own laws. Thus the power of the state was entirely broken, and those who assumed the title of emperors, only encountered certain destruction. At length, even the very name of emperor of the West expired upon the abdication of Augustulus; and Odoacer, general of the Heruli, assumed the title of king of all Italy. Such was the end of this great empire, that had conquered mankind with its arms, and instructed the world with its wisdom; that had risen by temperance, and that fell by luxury; that had been established by a spirit of patriotism, and that sunk into ruin when the empire was become so extensive, that a Roman citizen was but an empty name. Its final dissolution happened about five hundred and twenty-two years after the battle of Pharsalia; a hundred and forty-six after the removal of the imperial seat to Constantinople; and four hundred and seventy-six after the nativity of our Saviour.

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